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DISCOURSE/REPRESENTATION/POWER: BRITISH NARRATIVES OF TRAVEL IN ARABIA

by

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Abstract

The role of discourse as an element of power/knowledge is examined. Employing post-structuralist theory, particularly that of Michel Foucault, this thesis analyses nineteenth and twentieth century narratives of British travel in Arabia. Biographical detail is provided and specific texts are examined but the importance of the individual author and work is minimized in favour of regarding the texts as units within a coherent and unified discourse permeated by ideology and active in a complex of power relations.

Viewed in terms of its institutional affiliations and class basis, the discourse is seen as a social practice linked to other such practices. The articulation of the travel discourse with cultural movements such as the medieval and Greek revivals, with fiction of the imperial period and with boys' literature is examined. Literary influences on the discourse are discussed and it is argued that certain primal texts imposed a textual screen on Arabia. Less concerned with the historical referent than the manner of its description, the thesis suggests that discourse creates its object and that successive travellers encountered only discourse rather than Arabia itself.

The discourse is examined both in terms of British imperialism in the Middle East and class relations within Britain. Discourse is considered to act as power/knowledge within two modes: by providing information useful to British imperialism and by forming an allegorical system whereby British class relations are transposed to Arabia. This allegorical system is viewed as an ideological apparatus to maintain hegemony of the aristocracy threatened by a rising urban bourgeoisie. Specific themes and their ideological content are examined. It is argued that although discourse evolves in a specific historical situation, it maintains a level of autonomy which allows it to survive these conditions and act as an ideological template for new power relations.

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As befits a study dealing with travel literature, much of my work was done abroad and I wish to express my gratitude for help provided by the library staff of the Institute of Modern Middle East Studies, University of Amsterdam, the School of African and Oriental Studies, University of London, and the American University in Cairo.

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I. Introduction

My thesis is an investigation of the concept of power/knowledge. This concept has been developed by Foucault in his studies of prisons (1977a), madness (1965), and sexuality (1980). Foucault's studies have concentrated on power/knowledge as it functions within a single society; Said (1978) has extended Foucault's theories in an attempt to determine how power/knowledge operates cross-culturally. Neither has examined the inter-relationship of these two forms of power/knowledge. My thesis will combine both approaches and attempt to analyze how power/knowledge simultaneously functions within a single culture and in a cross-cultural relationship.

Emphasis will be placed on the manner in which elements of one culture appropriate elements from a second culture and employ those elements as a surface upon which various contradictions are resolved through the medium of a quasi-mythological structure, in this case a particular genre of literature. My investigation will focus on accounts of British travel in Arabia during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. These texts will be treated as a discourse (Foucault 1972), a social practice related to other social practices. I will attempt to show that the discourse treats not only relations of power/knowledge existing between Britain and Arabia but that it also concerns power/knowledge relations within Britain. In other words, I will treat a sample of travel literature as a structural system which acts as a field of articulation for the resolution of socially-felt contradictions from other fields of social discourse.

Within the colonial experience, one detects a peculiar and recurring phenomenon. On the one hand, we find economic manipulation, military control, and political oppression; on the other, we find segments of the population of colonizing nations selecting certain elements from among those colonized which are then romanticized, glamourized, or viewed in a nostalgic fashion. Various cultural characteristics, imagined, distorted, or otherwise fictionalized are popularized and, in varying degrees, often even emulated by members of the colonizing nations. Evidence of this phenomemnon exists widely in literature, art, fashion, and advertising. It seems evident then that what is commonly referred to as the "Third World" has existed as a sort of vast warehouse, not only of material resources, but of images which come to be employed ideologically.

Recognition of the interplay of power and knowledge and an investigation which proceeds from such a recognition should be able to contribute to the understanding of such a phenomemnon.

A. Theory

In order to approach the problem I will employ Foucault's concept of discourse. Foucault insists that we question our existing notions of divisions, distributions, groupings, and genres which separate, for example, literature, science, religion, and philosophy. These divisions are "always themselves reflexive categories, principles of classification, normative rules, institutionalized types" (ibid.:22). Foucault suggests that other divisions may exist and must be examined through theory, but first even the most basic configurations must be questioned:

> The frontiers of a book are never clear-cut: beyond the title, the first lines, and the last stop, beyond its internal configuration and its autonomous form, it is caught up in a system of references to other books, other texts, other sentences: it is a node within a network. And this network of references is not the same in the case of a mathematical treatise, a textual commentary, a historical account, and an episode in a novel cycle; the unity of the book, even in the sense of a group of relations, cannot be regarded as identical in each case. The book is not simply the object that one holds in one's hand; and it cannot remain within the little paralleliped that contains it: its unity is variable and relative. As soon as one questions that unity, it loses its self-evidence; it indicates itself, constructs itself, only on the basis of a complex field of discourse. (ibid.:23)

Although the travel accounts are discussed individually in chronological sequence, this is merely an organizational procedure (although one intended to give some historical perspective) and reflects only a provisional acceptance of 'obvious' continuities in order to investigate whether certain law-like generalities operate through them. I accept the texts as unique configurations only insofar as they act as the surface of deeper unities. The texts will be considered in their existence as components of a codified discourse which refers as much to itself as it does to its purported object. Instead of regarding these texts as a series of books which reflect the personal concerns of their authors as unique individuals, I will consider these travel accounts as an interrelated textual body which simultaneously acts as a locus of ideological stereotypes and as an impetus for their perpetuation.

The ideological content of these texts will then be viewed as an underlying structure within discourse. Larrain (1979:133) considers ideology to be a second-order semiological system existing at the level of connotation or myth. Although Foucault has been reluctant to use the term 'ideology' because of the implication that it stands in opposition to something designated as truth (Foucault 1980:188), his theory of the articulation of discourse with adjacent discourses, practices, and institutions as the key to its operation as power/knowledge does bears some resemblence to Larrain's view of ideology:

> Ideology in a text is a relationship between the textual and the extra-textual, between the content and the conditions of its production, which are external and rooted in historical and social reality. The presence of the ideological in a discourse does not consist of immanent properties of the texts, but of a system of relationships between the text and its production, circulation and consumption. (Larrain 1979:140)

The travel texts will be considered to form not only their own discourse with its particular conventions and aspirations but also to participate in what Said (1978) calls the discourse of Orientalism. Orientalism is seen as the accumulation of exact knowledge about the Middle East as well as the system of romantic notions about the area which exist in novels and poetry. Said views this collection of knowledge and notions as the disciplined conversion of reality into useful knowledge through "societies, periodicals, traditions, vocabulary, rhetoric, all in basic ways connected to and supplied by the prevailing cultural and political norms of the West" (Said 1978:67-68). Orientalism is an ontological and epistemological device for dealing with the Middle East, a network of ideas and concepts about the area which demonstrate an internal consistency regardless of their degree of correspondence with the actual object of discourse. Said views Orientalism as a theoretical and practical means by which the West dominates the East. Deriving its strength through cultural hegemony, it is not a political field reflected passively by culture and scholarship but a discourse existing in a relationship with various kinds of power.

Structuralism

In accepting these texts as enunciative units within a discursive formation, it is evident that I am accepting the basic structuralist opposition of *langue/parole* (system/manifestation). Additionally, I have employed the basic structuralist concept of the sign and in my discussion of the discourse as an allegorical function my thesis is analogous (but only very generally so) to the work of Levi-Strauss on myth. However, my analysis is not a structuralist one.

The 'scientific' method of structuralism seems to have been somewhat exaggerated; both Culler (1975) and Larrain (1979) have pointed out that scholars such as Roland Barthes, employing a purely semiological analysis, have failed to arrive at a consistent methodological approach to the discovery of latent structures of texts other than by analogy to structural linguistics:

> This process of progressive differentiation can produce an almost unlimited number of distributional classes, and thus if one wishes to discover a pattern of symmetry in a text, one can always produce some class whose members are appropriately arranged. (Culler 1975:57)

Furthermore:

> Linguistic analysis does not provide a method by which the meaning of a text can be deduced from the meaning of its components. And the reason is not simply that sentences have different meanings in different contexts...The difficulty is, rather, that the context which determines the meaning of a sentence is more than the other sentences of the text; it is a complex of knowledge and expectations of varying degrees of specificity, a kind of interpretive competence which could in principle be described but in practice proves exceedingly refractory. For it consists on the one hand of various assumptions concerning the coherence and general models of semantic organization and on the other of expectations concerning particular types of texts and the kind of interpretation they require. (ibid.:95)

Structuralism largely focuses on the interpretation of individual texts. By contrast, my thesis will isolate specific themes, attitudes, images, stereotypes, and preoccupations which exist in individual texts and then attempt to determine the extent to which they are shared and interrelated. Treating the texts as a unified discourse, I will then attempt to determine the relation of the discourse to other adjacent discourses, practices, and institutions. The texts thus are treated less as individual works than as "nodes in a network" (Foucault 1972:23).

Structuralism has been unconcerned with this type of contextualization; thus, as in the case of Levi-Strauss, it is open to the charge of idealism. Unlike structuralism, which attempts to define the permutation of elements in terms of abstract, ahistorical, cross-cultural laws, my study will employ a method similar to that of Foucault's archaeology, which stresses the permutations of a specific discursive practice situated in its historical moment.

Authors

Both structuralism and Foucault's archaeology reject the notion of the author as a unique subject. Foucault posits the author merely as a name which unifies a discourse and contours its operation. Unconcerned with a socio-historical investigation of the author as biographical individual, Foucault concentrates on the "author-function" as a means of classifying texts: "the function of an author is to characterize the existence, circulation, and operation of certain discourses within a society" (Foucault 1977b:124). Culler,too, evinces little interest in the author as individual:

> The work is the product not of a biographically defined individual about whom information could be accumulated, but of writing itself. To write a poem the author had to take on the character of a poet,

> and it is that semiotic function of poet or writer rather than the biographical function of author which is relevant to the discussion of the text. (Culler 1981:38)

Because of the nature of this discourse, which places the consciousness of the author between that which is observed and the reader, my thesis emphasizes to a greater degree the role of the author. However, in this instance, this emphasis is in keeping with Foucault's thought, as he has recently clarified to me:

> Ce que j'ai dit sur la plus grande importance des textes que la vie des auteurs ne s'appliquait qu'aux discours scientifiques que j'étudiais. Mon problème était d'analyser ce qui les constituait comme discours scientifique. Il est clair qu'un récit de voyage doit une part de ses effets à l'individu historique qui s'y présente. (Foucault, pers. com.)

In spite of the emphasis I accord to individual authors, I hope to demonstrate that even the most idiosyncratic behaviours and concerns expressed by them exhibit a certain consistency, which I will attribute not only to their 'function' (as used by Culler, above) but to an ideology which constructed them as members more or less typical of their class. Additionally, I will propose that the momentum of the discourse itself, in association with political, economic, and social conditions, acted to contribute to a remarkable degree of consistency among authors.

Also to be considered in this matter is the fact that many authors 'surpass' their texts and become widely-known even to those who have not read their works. The most obvious example is T.E. Lawrence; many more people are familiar with 'Lawrence of Arabia' than have read Lawrence's *Seven Pillars Of Wisdom* (1935). However, I suggest that it is the discourse itself which permits this expression of individuality: the author strives to be the first to visit an unexplored region or to write the best account of travel. Through the perpetuation and elaboration of discourse the author is accorded a particular status; individualism always will be seen to be expressed in terms familiar to the discourse. Furthermore, valorization of the author itself acts as an incitement to further discourse. For example, *World Without Time* (Nevins and Wright 1969) is the record of an Arabian journey undertaken in order to discover memories of Lawrence in Arabia; thus, the author is effectively swallowed back into discourse.

Readers

In suggesting these accounts of travel as a unified discourse, I also wish to draw attention to a semiotics of reading, in the sense intended by Culler in his discussion of Jauss' *Rezeptionasthetik*, which calls for "an aesthetics of recepetion and impact"; rather than stressing the inherent meaning of a book, we must consider its place in Popper's "horizon of expectations", or, more simply, the frame of reference in which it occurs and the manner in which it refers to, answers, reflects, and refutes other books. (Culler 1981:54)

> "Intertextuality"...calls our attention to the existence of prior texts, insisting that the

> autonomy of texts is a misleading notion and that a work has the meaning it does only because certain things have previously been written. Yet in so far as it focuses on intelligibility, on meaning, "intertextuality" leads us to consider prior texts as contributions to a code which makes possible the various effects of signification. Intertextuality thus becomes less a name for a work's relation to particular prior texts than a designation of its participation in the discursive space of a culture: the relationship between a text and the various signifying languages and signifying practices of a culture and its relation to those texts which articulate for it the possibilities of that culture. The study of intertextuality is thus not the investigation of sources and influences as traditionally conceived; it casts its net wider to include anonymous discursive practices, codes whose origins are lost, that make possible the signifying practices of other texts. (ibid.:103)

Thus, no text can be disengaged from its literary tradition and writing is only possible by the existence of a genre, which an author may attempt to subvert but which remains the context of her/his activity (Culler 1975:116). Genre is not merely a taxonomic class but "a conventional function of language, a particular relation to the world which serves as a norm of expectation to guide the reader in his encounter with the text" (ibid.:136).

When taking into account the determinations of genre and intertextuality, however, one should not indulge in an oversimplification of proposing an encounter between all-determining texts and 'innocent' readers. It is also important to consider what might be termed the 'climate' of reading, that is, its social context and the web of implications into which individual texts are woven.

Also important in a description of a 'climate' of reading is the role of memory. It is not only the act of reading as it occurs which must be taken into account but also its ghostly after-life. As Stein and Glen point out with regard to Bartlett's work on memory, story recall is not an exact duplication of incoming material. Memory transforms information in various ways:

> Bartlett felt that subjects tended to get an impression of the whole story and, on the basis of this mental "attitude", they would then reconstruct the details of the story. Subjects often based their reconstruction upon probabilistic estimates of what could have occurred rather than what actually did occur.
> The fact that transformation occurred in recall led Bartlett to the conclusion that memory is constructive and is a product of the interaction between the incoming information and the strategies, mental operations and structures used by the subject. (Stein and Glen 1979:54)

Bartlett's major contribution is seen to be the postulation of a schema or structure influencing story comprehension. This schema is held to exist in reciprocally modifying interaction with incoming information but is largely stable over time and is culturally shared, although individual variations do exist. Stein and Glen suggest:

> ...that incoming information is encoded in relationship to already existing structures or patterns of information. These existing structures determine the information encoded and inferences generated in the process of comprehension. When reading or listening to a story subjects expect certain patterns of information, attend to informational sequences that match these patterns, and organize incoming information into similar patterns. (ibid.:115)

Thus we may consider that a more sophisticated argument for the construction of a unified discourse exists not solely on the autonomy of texts but considers the participation of the reader, particularly as the factor of memory is considered. Pervasive concepts and values within a society may influence the recall of texts, possibly to the point where a group of texts may seem more similar than they actually are. In my discussion of the various factors which influenced the production of discourse (class, education, religion, racialist thought, cultural movements, adjacent discourses, imperialist ideology, the travel discourse itself) it should be kept in mind that such factors influenced not only authors but readers as well.

Stein and Glen suggest that major events and settings are remembered more frequently and if goals and consequences are missing it is these which will be most frequently invented or elaborated by readers. Ideology would seem to have a major influence here but prior knowledge (having read similar travel works or fiction with similar themes, events, characters, or setting) is also a factor:

> In our recall data subjects often substituted new information for information that occurred in the original story. The new information belonged to the same category as the original information but was probably more consistent with the subject's knowledge of similar situations. Substitutions consisting of more probable events may help the processor maintain the structural and semantic cohesiveness of the story. (ibid.:118)

Tanen (1979) also refers to Bartlett's theory of constructive memory in her article on the power of expectation. She discussses the notion of 'frames' of experience; briefly her suggestion is that prior experience acts as a prototype, structure, or script for new experiences.

Discussing an experiment in which subjects viewed a film and then retold the narrative, Tanen notes that different cultural groups have different expectations and thus different interpretations of the film. Characteristic alterations in the retelling of narrative seem to be generalization, omission of details, collapsing and alteration of events, multiplication of objects and events and the representation of multiple instances by a single one. Tanen states:

> It is furthermore intriguing to speculate that the phenomenon supports Bartlett's hypothesis of constructive memory, by which memory is seen as a process of storing individual images and recalling them as representatives of numerous instances based on structures of expectation (and inferences). In general, speakers state inferences as categorically as they state things they actually saw. In other words they believe they saw what they expect to have been the case, based on what they saw combined with what they know of the world. (Tanen 1979:173)

Other alterations also occur: interpretation, moral judgement, incorrect statements, false recollection, addition of episodes which never happened. Certainly it seems the case, then, that books have another, different sort of existence closed than that which they do while being read. Therefore, it is necessary to consider the effect of the themes and motifs existing within the travel discourse on different sorts of readers: readers reading, readers remembering, and readers writing.

B. Literature Survey

There have been several histories of British travel in Arabia. Hogarth (1904) presents a descriptive summary of travellers' findings with an emphasis on geography. Kiernan (1937), Bidwell (1976), Brent (1977), Nasir (1976), and Freeth and Winstone (1978) all give similar historical-descriptive accounts of British travel in Arabia from the Renaissance to the present but none of these works are adequate in a theoretical or analytical sense. Assad (1964) presents a comparative study of three Victorian travellers (Burton, Doughty, Blunt) to determine British stereotypes of Arabs. Tidrick (1981) provides the most critical study but employs a psycho-analytic model which stresses the personality of individual travellers. Not surprisingly, Tidrick rejects Said's thesis (1978) of an Orientalist discourse.

My own study differs from the above by approaching the subject in a manner which emphasizes theoretical aspects rather than emphasizing simple description and which avoids individual psychological explanations.

There have been many studies which examine the depiction of one culture in the literature of another. Rather than catalogue these, I will refer to several which seem to bear upon this study.

Greenberger (1969) has studied the image of India in British fiction, periodizing it as follows: the Era of Confidence (1880-1910), the Era of Doubt (1910-1935), and the Era of Melancholy (1935-1960).

Literature of the first period, typified by gentlemen heroes, is set in rural areas and the frontier is seen as a space for the reaffirmation of British values. Indians are viewed as children, in need of paternalistic rule, although Muslims are perceived to have a more manly character with some counterpart to British public school values; Hindus, particularly the educated merchant class, are despised as cowards.

The second period saw the questioning of natural rule and the glorification of military heroes accompanied a growing disgust for India's squalor. The final period is characterized by regret for a dead Empire. Greenberger emphasizes that all three periods are seen from the British point of view and that this fiction is more about Britain than India itself.

Greenberger's study provides a useful comparison for the study of the discourse of British travel in Arabia. I have similarly periodized this discourse although the divisions do not seem to be as sharp as in Greenberger's study. Additionally, his analysis treats literature as simply a reflection of political events and does not address its relation to other practices or the function of discourse as a productive element of power/knowledge.

Killam's study, *Africa In English Fiction* (1968) notes the inter-related aspects of fiction with other textual materials. He sees that this fiction had a propaganda value and remarks on the promotion of a false image maintained throughout which influenced later writers but fails to theorize his findings adequately.

Street (1975) describes the correspondence between literature devoted to the idea of the primitive and political and scientific theories current in nineteenth century Britain. Significant in its mention of ideal aristocratic heroes who demonstrate British racial superiority, Street's investigation also depends too much on a theory of literature as reflection.

Also valuable is Pearce's study (1953) of the North American Indian in European and American fiction and scholarship. Pearce maintains that a theologically-inspired pattern of "savagism" which determined the manner in which Indians were perceived. In this sense, Pearce's ideas bear some resemblance to Foucault's concept of a discourse, although again theorized to a much lesser extent.

C. Methodology

The data for investigation will be British accounts of travel in Arabia during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. I have selected this period because it is commonly accepted to represent the 'great age' of British travel. Additionally, in the work of Alexander Kinglake (see below), we find a significant epistemological break with former accounts of travel. I have attempted to provide a complete sample, including all those texts which have been recognized (by historians, the reading public, and the travellers themselves) as classics of the genre. I have also included a great number of lesser-known works.

My analytical approach will be to extract major themes from the texts and relate them to a specific context which includes not only British relations with Arabia but conditions within Britain itself. As noted above, the texts will be divided into three broad periods in order to ascertain whether a relation can be drawn between historical conditions and themes existing in the texts. Since my attention is devoted to the surfaces of these texts, I do not anticipate problems of subjective interpretation in which secret meanings, apparent to myself alone, are inferred and given undue weight. Additionally, we may consider Riffaterre's criticism of Jakobson's postulation of patterns within poetry; Culler dismisses such criticisms:

> ...it is awkward to point to a particular pattern and then to claim that it cannot be perceived; [One cannot take as a] standard what readers *have* perceived, first because readers do not themselves necessarily know which consitituents or patterns may have contributed to the effects experienced.

Culler additionally points out that a critic may discover what other have not noticed and that Riffaterre arbitrarily excludes Jakobson from other readers who set a standard of perception (Culler 1975:67).

In any case, the interpretation of individual works is not intended as the focus of this study. Having isolated significant themes which exist in the texts, I will then attempt to determine the degree to which these themes are shared and interrelated. That is, the texts are seen less as individual works than as "nodes within a network" (Foucault 1972:23). I will also examine these travel accounts as a discursive practice:

> Discursive practices are characterized by the delimitation of a field of objects, the definition of a legitimate perspective for the agent of knowledge, and the fixing of norms for the elaboration of concepts and theories. Thus each discursive practice implies a play of prescriptions that designate its exclusions and choices. (Foucault 1977:199)

Having identified these texts as a discursive practice, I will employ techniques of analysis as suggested by Foucault (1972):

Surfaces of Emergence

In order to discover rules of formation, juxtaposition, and succession, Foucault suggests that we first map the surfaces of emergence. In Foucault's discussion of nineteenth century psychopathology, these surfaces are seen as the family, social group, religious and work communities. In terms of the discourse under investigation here, I will consider these surfaces to be the historical context of imperialism, exploration, the civilizing mission, the rise of archaeology and anthropology, religious interest in the Middle East, the position of Turkey and rival imperialist powers and the class structure of Britain itself at a particular historical moment.

Authorities of Delimitation

Foucault's example here, in the same context as noted above, is the medical institution. I will pose these authorities as the texts themselves as they come to be regarded as classic works, their relation to scholarly bodies such as the Royal Geographical Society and to state apparatuses such as the military and to commercial interests such as oil companies.

Grids of Specification

Foucault's reference here is to the manner in which psychiatry divides and classifies types of madness. I will turn to the travel texts themselves to determine which image of Arabia they construct and discuss the inter-referentiality of texts, shared views and conclusions, competitiveness, challenges, and refutations, as well as an entire system of dedications, allusions, quotations, introductions, and anecdotes.

Distribution of Elements

Foucault indicates a "set of rules for arranging statements in series, an obligatory set of schema of dependence, of order, and of successions, in which the recurrent elements that have value as concepts [are] distributed" (Foucault 1972:52). This involves the co-existence of other fields of presence, statements and actions formulated elsewhere and incorporated into discourse, commentary which rejects or verifies; and fields of concomitance, statements or actions which belong to another domain but serve as analogical confirmations or as models. Also relevant are the field of memory, statements no longer accepted, and procedures of intervention, techniques of rewriting, translation, editing and systematization. An example here would be *The Penetration of Arabia*(1904) or *Hejaz Before World War I* (1917) by D.G. Hogarth, who did not travel in Arabia but compiled histories from the accounts of those who did.

Strategic Location

In addition to the stratgic formation of texts within discourse, I will consider the notion of strategic location, the author's position in a text with regard to the object of discourse. Foucault insists that we determine who is speaking: we must consider the status of individuals who issue discourse and the specific capacities in which they speak.

Observation of the above procedures should provide an adequate analysis of the function of discourse as an element of power/knowledge. Although my study is, in the broadest sense, political, the illustrative case used historical, and the artifacts employed for investigation textual, my approach, stressing as it does the cultural function of these artifacts, is properly anthropological.

II. History of Contact between Britain and Arabia

A. Motivations for Involvement

From 1500 to 1800, British contact with Arabia chiefly was limited to coastal trade. To the mid-18th. century, British interests lay mainly in the Persian Gulf as a route to India. The French invasion of Egypt in 1799 "brought home the necessity of a more active British interest in Gulf and Arab affairs" (Winder 1965:37). In Egypt itself, British and Egyptian forces combined to drive out the French in 1801. Large debts incurred by Mohammed Ali and his successors, especially over the Suez Canal, led to increasingly heavy taxation, a revolt in 1881 led by Arabi Pasha, followed by British invasion in 1882 to protect their own interests. From 1883-1907, Sir Evelyn Baring (Lord Cromer) was the virtual ruler of Egypt.

In the Gulf, an attack on a British ship led to a treaty with Oman in 1798, followed by a series of others in the nineteenth century. Woodhouse notes that "the security of the route to India was a predominant anxiety of every British government" and discusses the seizure of Aden in 1839 as a means of protecting these interests (1959:26). Attempts to stop the slave trade in the area and to prevent the smuggling of arms to India also resulted in the development of trade relations and for most of the nineteenth century Britain enjoyed monopoly control of trade there. This also meant an increasing involvement with local politics:

> The suppression of piracy and the slave-trade destroyed the staples of the economy and produced regional unrest. This forced the British to meddle in the politics of the petty states in the Arabian Peninsula and to see to it that local unrest did not lead to a return of piracy. The British also established intimate relations with local rulers, committing themselves to maintaining friendly rulers in power as a means of protecting British interests, which in turn involved the British in local disputes and deepened Britain's commitment to the area by engaging British prestige. The British came to believe that even minor setbacks in getting their way would encourage local peoples to take advantages (not, on the whole, an unrealistic assessment). This attitude hardened in the 1890's when other European powers moved into the Gulf to challenge the British monopoly, offering locals a chance of playing off rivals. The Persian Gulf became the scene of efforts to exclude French, Russian, and later German rivals. (Olson 1982:33)

Woodhouse and Busch (1967) see trade in the area as economically insignificant but it is clear that the British saw even the barren interior of Arabia as a potentially lucrative commercial zone; in 1842 Lord Palmerston advocated expansion into Ethiopia and the Arabian desert: "...those wilds and those deserts are inhabited by a numerous population, wanting many things which we can supply, and able to give us valuable commodities in return...I am sure that in process of time they will lead to a considerable increase of commerce" (Hyam 1976:48). Claims that British interests in the area were primarily strategic (Lackner 1978:13; Foster 1969:13) seem suspect. Glubb maintains that "when Britain first contacted the Arabs in 1914, she had no wish or intention to derive profit from their countries. Her sole preoccupation was her need to pass through the area" (1959:8). However, Issawi (1975), reviewing the series of treaties made between Britain and the Gulf states from 1891 to 1915, points out that increasing attention was paid to oil concessions in areas such as Bahrein and Kuwait and that there was an explicit awareness of the economic potential of the region. Also, in 1913 Churchill told the House of Commons that British policy should be directed towards control of Middle East oil reserves. When war broke out with Turkey in 1914, British forces were rushed to Mesopotamia and Abadan Island to protect oil interests there. Protection of commercial trade, the Suez Canal's importance as a military and economic line to India, and the threat of a Muslim holy war which might spread to India were also important factors.

Lewis (1963) detects the change from imperialist encroachment limited to the coastal periphery to an interest in economic aspects of the interior as beginning in the mid-nineteenth century. All scholars agree that a major factor in Britain's increased involvment was the threat of competition in the Middle East from other European powers, most notably France, Russia, and Germany. Thus, treaties with the Arab tribes assured the British not only the power of arbitration of disputes but also meant that agreements could not be made with other powers. "Issues of imperial defence, Anglo-Ottoman relations, commerce, and local Gulf policy were all interrelated in the area" (Troeller 1976:1).

Ottoman Involvement

The Ottoman Empire, an area of wealth, strategic importance, and political instability, had become an increasingly significant issue in Middle East diplomacy through the nineteenth century. Its financial policy had come to be controlled by the Ottoman Public Debt Administration and operated mainly to European interests. All the European powers were anxious to dismember the Ottoman Empire and gain as much as they could for themselves. Still, timing was an issue in a complicated web of advantages and compensations. In the 1790's William Pitt had warned that the Russian threat to the Ottoman Empire could seriously endanger Britain's interests there but his views received little support.

> In the 1830s and 1840s, though, opinion in Britain, which had pictured the Turk as deserving of his fate and Russia as Britain's natural ally, began to change. The expansion of Russia in Asia and attempts to absorb the Ottoman Empire and gain access to the Mediterranean began to look more and more like a threat to British interests in India and in the Middle East. The process was a slow one, first convincing only a few but developing into a general Russophobia...(Olson 1982:20)

This was spurred by the revolt of Mohammed Ali against the Ottomans in 1830. Turkey had appealed to Europe for aid in suppressing it but only Russia had responded and the 1833 Treaty of Hunkar Iskalesi had placed Russian forces in a position which threatened the Bosphorous. Alarmed, Britain involved itself in pressuring Mohammed Ali to desist and return to Egypt. Although Britain embarked upon a strategy of supporting the decaying Ottoman Empire from the 1870s, the situation had become paradoxical:

> To protect interests in Egypt or the Persian Gulf, various British statesmen found themselves executing a policy that undermined the very Ottoman integrity they hoped to uphold. The underlying theme in both instances was the protection of British interests, but the requirements of defence differed according to locality and on more than one occasion involved contradictory approaches. (ibid.:21)

Germany's economic growth led to an increasing rivalry in the Middle East, for Germany was actively courting Turkish favour. In spite of Turkey's industrial underdevelopment, the area was rich in coal and agricultural wealth and large deposits of oil in Mesopotamia were known since 1871. The proposed Berlin-Bagdad railway line was viewed as a means of development and would also be of great military advantage. Germany was given tax-free mining rights, depots, warehouses, and port facilities along the railway line. Britain saw a threat to its interests in a German-backed railway which might augur "a renaissance of Mohammedan political ambitions" (Earle 1966:20). For example, the Turks began pressing their influence in Kuwait, nominally under their jurisdiction but not a significant area to them until after 1900 when it was suggested as a possible terminus for the railway. Through a long series of negotiations, the British eventually gained their own concessions and assurances of control of the railway in the south.

British Tensions

A series of developments increased British apprehension about the security of their interests. The 1894 alliance between France and Russia had been seen as a threat to British influence in the Mediterranean. From 1890 to 1904, there was a series of disputes with France over activities in Muscat and both Russia and Germany posed threats to British power there. As well, since the mid-nineteenth century there had been a series of imperialist tragedies which, although usually followed by savage retributions, had acted to undermine to some degree British confidence: the Afghan slaughter of the Kabul Army in 1841-42, the Indian Mutiny in 1857, the Eyre scandal in 1866, the Phoenix Park murders in Dublin and Gladstone's presentation of the first Home Rule Bill for Ireland which split Parliament in 1882, the Zulu Wars beginning in 1879, and Gordon's martyrdom at Khartoum in 1885. The Boer War had worsened relations with Germany and the length of time needed to end the war made Britain appear weak. "Furthermore, through her treatment of the Boers, whom many saw as a valiant little people struggling for their independence, she outraged public opinion in many European capitals" (Troeller 1976:6). International rivalry was thus compounded by a loss of prestige and a sense of dishonour as well as an awareness of the insecurity of Empire:

> The growing awareness of imperial vulnerability created a crisis of confidence affecting the intellectual and political leadership, producing a search for a rational base for empire and an

> imperial ideology, as well as an effort to produce a new breed of men to govern the empire...(Olson 1982:37)

These insecurities and preoccupations with European political events and imperialist rivalries, the anomalous desire to shore up the Ottoman Empire while simultaneously serving British interests, and the unwieldy structure of British colonial adminstration, all led to a confused Middle East policy. Decisions had to pass through the Foreign Office, the India Office, the Government of India, and the War Office. It has become a commonplace among historians of the period to remark that during World War I British officials in Egypt and India, both involved in Arabian affairs, often behaved as if they were rival powers. Developments within Arabia served to further complicate the situation.

Internal Politics of Arabia

In 1745 an alliance had been formed between Mohammed Ibn Saud, son of Saud Ibn Mohammed Ibn Muqrin, founder of the house of Saud in Nejd, and the religious reformer Mohammed Ibn Abdul Wahhab, the originator of the puritannical Wahhabi sect. From this point and for the next century and a half, Nejd was at war and Wahhabism spread throughout the region. By 1806, the Wahhabis had captured Taif, Yanbo, Mecca, Medina, and Jedda, victories which led to an Egyptian invasion led by Mohammed Ali in 1811, an eight-year campaign which ended in Wahhabi defeat. A resurgence in 1830 led Mohammed Ali to attempt to impose his own rule on Arabia but he was persuaded to withdraw by the British. During this period, the Sauds carried on a feud with the Rashid family of Hail and were forced to flee to Kuwait in 1891, although they returned to capture Riyadh in 1902. In 1896, Shaykh Mubarek al Sabah killed his brother and seized power in Kuwait. The Turks suspected British subversion and Mubarek played each against the other while renewed piracy broke out along the coast. Mubarek encouraged the ambitions of the Sauds and the British, after making a secret treaty with Mubarek in 1899, indirectly supplied them with guns through him. The effect was to limit Turkish power in the hinterland (Troeller 1976:21). With the decline of power among the Rashids, Abdul Aziz Ibn Saud gained control of Nejd.

British Support For Ibn Saud

In 1903 Ibn Saud asked for British support for Wahhabi plans to attack the Turks. Although Nejd was of strategic importance since it flanked the proposed railway line, the Government of India declined. Sir Percy Cox, Political Resident in the Gulf, urged that agreements be arranged with Ibn Saud. The latter made repeated overtures but the Government of India at this time insisted on limiting its involvement in order to avoid Turkish antagonism. Despite Cox's efforts and those of Captain W.H.I. Shakespear, who also advocated support for Ibn Saud, both the Foreign Office and the India Office maintained a policy of non-involvement in Central Arabia. Shakespear's visit to Ibn Saud shortly before the latter's raids on Hasa and Qatar in 1913, however, increased Turkish suspicion of British intentions. Sir Edward Grey, Foreign Secretary, insisted on consolidating Turkey's position and ordered that British officers abstain from all but necessary formal contacts with Arabian shaykhs: "The cardinal factors of British policy, which is based on considerations not purely local, is to uphold the integrity of the Turkish dominions in Asia" (ibid.:48).

By 1913 Ibn Saud's power had increased to the point where he became a threat to British interests on the coast. The India Office now suggested that British agents come to terms with Ibn Saud while the Foreign Office continued to resist actions which might further antagonize the Turks. These disagreements over policy continued throughout World War I.

The War Years

Under the control of the Foreign Office, the Arab Bureau of military intelligence in Cairo secretly approached Ibn Saud's political rival, Husayn, the Sharif of Mecca, with the aim of organizing an Arab Revolt against the Turks. The British feared that the Arabs might join the German and Turkish forces and act against Britain and France. In return for his support against the Turks, the British offered

Husayn the Caliphate of Mecca, although as Kedourie (1956) points out, they certainly meant to allow him only spiritual and not political authority. Correspondence between Sir Henry McMahon, High Commissioner of Egypt, and Husayn discussed British support for Arab independence in return for assistance in fighting the Turks and through this agreement the Arab Revolt began on June 10, 1916. British support mainly was given to Husayn, although a formal treaty with Ibn Saud was concluded in 1915; the latter played only a minor role in the war. Although he was later to gain control of Arabia, Ibn Saud was at that point considered to have little influence outside Nejd and, although connected with the Wahhabis, was not viewed as an important religious figure like Husayn. The latter seemed a useful link between the Bedouin of Hejaz and the urban nationalist groups. Furthermore, his territory had access to the communication routes of the Red Sea while control of the Hejaz railway would afford protection to Egypt and Suez, particularly important since Yemen had united with the Turks. Cox continued to promote support of Ibn Saud as he formed an "adequate counterpoise to [Husayn's] inconvenient pre-eminence" and the Government of India determined to play off rival tribes against each other, suggesting that Cox give Ibn Saud money but not enough arms to defeat Ibn Rashid, thus keeping Ibn Saud occupied outside Hejaz and keeping Ibn Rashid in play so as to later avoid the risk of "establishment of two powers in Arabia mutually hostile, but to both of whom we have given pledges of support" (ibid.:114-115).

British Strategy

Although British strategies differed on the approach to be taken towards Arabia, there was a general consensus on the importance of the Middle East. Sir Arthur Hirtzell, Political Secretary of the India Office in London, emphasized the importance of Arab opinion with regard to the Muslim population of India and advocated protection of the head of the Persian Gulf and the oil-rich areas of Kuwait. He also supported an aggressive Mesopotamian policy, unlike Lloyd George, who wanted the Mesopotamian forces transferred to the Dardanelles. Churchill pushed for control of Basra and Hirtzell cited Turkish misrule as a moral justification for the capture of Bagdad, with a post-war aim of making it into a colony of British India to be worked by Indian labour. Hirtzell later rejected this plan but Hardinage, Viceroy of India, continued to advocate a policy of Indian rule. Kitchener also pushed for the seizure of Alexandretta and Mesopotamia, emphasizing agricultural interests, oil reserves, possible Indian settlement, the strategic importance of both the Persian Gulf and the land route to India, the threat posed by Russian forces, and the prestige which would accrue from control of sites of religious importance. The Indian view, suspicious of Arab influence on its Muslim population, was firmly opposed to Arab nationalism and generally regarded the Arabs as hostile. Busch claims that the popular view of the British-Indian forces in Mesopotamia was "that the only friendly Arab we should ever encounter was a dead one" (1971:52). However, the India Government did view Mesopotamia as its reward for the war effort. Officials in Cairo were more enthusiastic about using the Arabs to fight the Turks. Directed by the Arab Bureau, Colonel T.E. Lawrence acted:

> ...as political intelligence officer attached to Emir Faisal, son of the Sherif of Mecca: his position was that of an *eminence grise*, his task to control the tide of the Revolt so that it should run in Britain's favour. This meant convincing the Arabs that Britain, above other countries, had Arab interests at heart...His role was unenviable and difficult, for he knew all the time that British policy, which he had had a hand in formulating, was directly opposed to the sort of freedom the Arabs wanted, to the type of post-war state they believed they had been promised and were fighting for. (Knightley and Simpson 1971:69)

This contradicts the popular view of Lawrence uniting the Arabs in a war for their own liberation. In reality his mission was "to bring the Arabs firmly under British control and make certain they remained jealous and divided;" A confidential report by Lawrence advises: "...if properly handled, they would remain in a state of political mosaic, a tissue of small jealous principalities incapable of cohesion" (ibid.:69-70). Lawrence's words are echoed in a statement by A.H. Grant, Secretary to the Foreign Department:

> What we want is not a united Arabia: but a weak and disunited Arabia, split up into little prinicipalities so far as possible under our suzerainity - but incapable of co-ordinated action

> against us, forming a buffer against the Powers in the West. (Busch 1971:62)

Monroe (1963:15) also notes this policy of creating buffer states with pro-British governments through the use of direct pressure and through the influence of loans, subsidies, trade agreements, and advice. Similarly, Halliday remarks on this orientation of British policy towards Arabia:

> British policy in Arabia was governed by the desire to protect India, and this dictated a policy of retardation of the peninsula's socio-economic life. Precisely because Arabia was a buffer, it was essential for the British to keep a firm grip on it. But the insulation of Aden also reflected a political decision to keep the tribal areas as unchanged as possible. This was the key to the uneven development of the area. If the economic chnages in Aden had affected the hinterland's structure, the political stability and the buffer zone that Britain wanted among the tribes might have been undermined. If all the workers brought into Aden had come from up country and not from Somalia and North Yemen, or if the British had educated local Yemenis to do the jobs they had trained Europeans and southern Asians to do, the sultans and sheikhs of the hinterland would have been unable to retain complete control. Instead the British deliberately fostered a dichotomy within the economy and society of the south, so as to preserve imperialist control. (1979:44,164)

The Sykes-Picot Agreement

Contradicting the promises made in the McMahon-Husayn letters was the Sykes-Picot Agreement concluded between Britain and France in 1916 and kept secret until exposed by the Bolsheviks in 1917. Essentially, it divided up the Middle East between Britain and France and left little for the Arabs. It had been based on secret negotiations held in Cairo between McMahon, Sir Mark Sykes, a special advisor to the government, and Sharif al-Faruqi, a member of an Arab secret society and an Ottoman staff officer in Syria who had deserted to the British. Al-Faruqi conceded administrative and economic rights for a nominal Arab state to the British. Antonius (1938) states that al-Faruqi had no right to act as a negotiator but Kedourie denies that there was any attempt to trick the Arabs; in his view, the imperial interests of Britain and France were legitimate and there was "no reason" to abdicate them (1956:42). Lawrence and the Arab Bureau objected to the document, not because it dealt unfairly with the Arabs but because it allowed the French into Syria.

Sykes had originally been a supporter of the Ottoman Empire. He saw the Arabs as totally "devoid of any political capacity" and said of the Bedouin: "...a more rapacious, greedy ill-mannered set of brutes it would be hard to find. These animals are, unluckily, pure Bedawi" (ibid.:69). At the same time, however, Sykes was able to see a fundamentally good Eastern way of life: authority tempered by mercy, each person content with her/his station, an earthly hierarchy mirroring an eternal one. In Sykes' view, the West was now degraded by modernism and bourgeois values which had disrupted class harmony: "Middle class values were cheap, tawdry, artificial, reflecting neither the high breeding and fine sensitivity of aristocracy, nor the deep, true, instinctive and intuitive understanding of country people and those who are close to the natural order" (ibid.: 71). Sykes' nostalgia for feudal order was not unique, as will be demonstrated below.

When the Turks joined the Central Powers, Sykes suddenly found faith in the Arabs, praised their history, and described them as "proud and chivalrous, generous, pious and tolerant." In 1916 he told the War Committee: "... towards all Arabs...we should show ourselves as pro-Arabs, and that whenever we are on Arab soil we are going to back the Arab language and race" (ibid.:79). Kedourie maintains that Sykes promoted Arab strength and unity and that although these aims were contradicted by the Sykes-Picot Agreement, Sykes was not duplicitous in the sense that he was merely an agent. Certainly his views were in line with British policy. Olson contends that Britain had "made no promises to nationalism" but admits that Britain only intended to allow autonomy in Arabia as long as it served British interests. Furthermore:

> The British had little faith in the ability of the Arabs of the former Ottoman provinces to govern themselves. Nor did the authorities in the Middle East or in London place much faith in nationalism as a basis for government, regarding it as little more than a transient passion confined to a few individuals, not all of them reputable characters. It was not entirely coincidental that these opinions coincided with the realization that Britain had an opportunity to secure a permanently favorable situation in the Middle East..." (1982:59-60)

This is similar to Sykes' views on the future of Palestine. Although a Zionist, he viewed the Jewish settlement of Palestine to be along the lines of an agrarian society, not a modern state. Again, this was directly in keeping with British interests in the area: small manageable states which were actually controlled by Britain but which had a facade of local autonomy.

> ...the British never contemplated an independent Jewish entity. They envisaged a single state run efficiently by Britain that accomodated Jewish claims for a homeland and Arab claims for their own state, just as Britain administered multi-religious areas in India. The British wanted neither a Jewish nor an Arab presence that jeopardized British interests. (ibid.:62)

Kedourie views Sykes as an idealist who hoped renew the purity of a decayed East and discusses his contempt for "Levantines" (originally European residents in the Levant, but a term which gradually came to be applied to all southern Europeans). who came to function for Sykes as a symbol of this decay. Sykes' notions of the decline of the East, as well as his theories on pure and hybrid races, cultures, and traditions are also common to the travel literature discussed in this thesis, as will be demonstrated below.

Palestine

Zionists in Britain had attempted to increase the colonization of Palestine through agreements with Turkey. As the war progressed, they began to approach the governments of Britain and France. Realizing that Britain wanted a buffer zone near Egypt and the Suez Canal, the Zionists under Dr. Chaim Weizmann agreed to form a British Protectorate in Palestine. The Balfour Declaration of 1917 favoured the creation of a Jewish homeland, largely due to Britain's desire "to ensure Zionist opposition to an international administration and support for a British Palestine" (Knightley and Simpson 1971:126). McMahon, Churchill and the Zionists all denied that Palestine had been included in the proposed zone of Arab independence but Knightley and Simpson refer to an Arab Bureau document which plainly contradicts this as well as to a statement made by Lord Curzon at a War Cabinet meeting which definitely shows that Palestine had been promised to the Arabs. Glubb (1959:73) also points out that the arguments that Palestine had not been included in the McMahon-Husayn agreements did not appear until later and sees this as an attempt to justify British underhandedness.

Post-War Developments

At the Paris Peace Conference in 1919, Britain gave Syria to France in exchange for the Mosul oil-fields in Mesopotamia, which had been given to France under the terms of the Sykes-Picot Agreement. France also took Lebanon while the British claimed Mesopotamia, Transjordan, and Palestine (giving 'equal' rights to the 10% of the Palestinean population which was Jewish). Feisal, who had been placed in Damascus as a British puppet-ruler was evicted by the French in 1920 and since Britain was using military force at that time to suppress revolts in Mesopotamia it did not object to the French actions. Churchill and Lawrence met with Feisal in Cairo in 1921 and offered him the throne of Mesopotamia.

Hankey, Secretary of the War Cabinet, had promoted the acquisition of the Mesopotamian oil-fields as a "first-class British war aim" although there was "no military advantage" in pressing further into Mesopotamia at the time and Balfour regarded it as a "purely Imperialist War Aim" (Mejcher 1976:40-41). A basic premise was that Britain would have to consolidate its position in Mesopotamia after the war, a position which conflicted with American pressure for internationalist principles. Various euphemisms (mandate, perpetual lease) were sought for control and efforts were made to gain U.S. sympathy for the British position as well as to promote a sense of imperial responsibility within Britain and its empire. The idea of a civilizing mission was included as part of this propaganda effort: "Trusteeship was therefore a contribution to the well-being of humanity as a whole. In its final shape of a mandate, this doctrine of trusteeship turned out in the end to be a cover for secret and more nakedly imperialist designs" (ibid.:51).

It had to appear that control was not for Britain's own benefit and that the liberty of the Arabs would not be curtailed, therefore it was necessary to generate confidence in the British, to promote the idea that special links existed between the British and the Arabs and that the latter preferred the presence of the former more than they had that of the Turks and consented to their administration and that the British presence was merely a prelude to liberty and independence. To this end, Britain attempted to make itself indispensible not only to the cause of Arab nationalism, but to commercial interests, and to Jewish and Armenian populations in the Middle East. Important desert shaykhs continued to receive British subsidies and modern conveniences were introduced as part of this program. Mejcher quotes a memo from Sykes entitled *Our Position in Mesopotamia in relation to the Spirit of the Age* which proposes a 25 year provisional rule by Britain, at the end of which time, the fate of Mesopotamia will be determined by an international commission. Modern reasons were employed for justification: Mesopotamia's resources were of world importance and should not be allowed to strengthen Britain's enemies or to lie undeveloped due to struggles between "municipal oligarchies, a collection of riparian brigands and a fringe of Patriarchal nomads" (ibid.:53).

However, Britain's power had been weakened by the war effort, the public was unenthusiastic, expenses in the Middle East rose to 32 million pounds per year, and promises made to indigenous populations during the war proved a great annoyance. Britain suffered a string of humiliations:

> ...the Kemalists' defiance of the Treaty of Sevres, the admission of the oil interests of France at San Remo, the fall of Faisal in Syria, the military withdrawl from Persia, the insurrection on the Euphrates in summer 1920, the boycott of the Milner Commission in Egypt, Ibn Saud's unrestricted challenge of the British-backed Hashemites' sway over Mecca and the Hejaz, and, finally, the acceptance of American oil interests in the Turkish Petroleum Company (ibid.:71).

After the war it was seen as necessary to keep buying friends in Arabia through subsidizing the desert shaykhs. Ibn Saud was pressing for more money and the jealousy of other shaykhs meant they also had to be paid more. Consolidation of the internal affairs of Arabia, a strengthening of the British position there and the exclusion of foreign powers were seen as a means of giving stability to both Palestine and Syria and it was felt that friends in Arabia might help to offset calls for nationalism. Hirtzell at the India Office objected to subsidizing the "blood-stained scoundrels generally termed 'the noble Arabs'" but Churchill realized that subsidies were cheaper than troops and advocated paying off raiding Arab groups rather than launching military campaigns against them (Troeller 1976: 166).

Tension had increased between Ibn Saud and Husayn, culminating in a military defeat for the latter in 1919. In 1921 Ibn Saud conquered the final Rashid stronghold at Hail. In 1922 he attacked Transjordan; this was unsuccessful and he agreed to a treaty with Britain. In 1924 Wahhabi forces seized Mecca and Husayn abdicated. Medina was taken in 1925 and Ibn Saud was recognized as King in 1926.

By 1920 Britain controlled most of the oil reserves in the area but American involvement was accelerating. Intense rivalry not only between Britain and the U.S. but also among France, Russia, and the Netherlands indicated that the Middle East was now a recognized economic goal in itself.

After World War II, U.S. power seemed to grow in inverse proportion to that of Britain. In 1945 Britain controlled 80% of Middle Eastern oil and the U.S. 15%; by 1952 the U.S. controlled 70% while Britain's share had declined to 24% (Kimche 1953:22). H.St.J.B. Philby, a former British military officer and explorer of Arabia, now an advisor to Ibn Saud, was instrumental in obtaining concessions for the U.S. oil companies (Monroe 1973:203-05). Needless to say, the vast majority of the populations of the oil-producing countries of the Middle East have not largely benefitted from increased oil development, population growth has not been matched by increased agricultural growth, and profits go to foreign oil companies and the upper classes of the Middle East. Unlike U.S. neo-colonies in Latin America the ruling class in Saudi Arabia has real power although it generally pursued a pro-Western policy in the course of its attempt to consolidate its own policy and to crush internal revolutionary opposition.

III. British Travellers In Arabia

A. Confidence

Burckhardt

Although the image of the Bedouin as Noble Savage had been employed in Europe at least since the Enlightenment, the romantic characterization of them as desert aristocrats seems to have been more widely popularized in nineteenth century Britain by the writings of a Swiss traveller, Jean Louis Burckhardt. Son of a colonel in the French army, Burckhardt was educated at Leipzig University and went to Britain in 1806. After studying at Cambridge, he was enlisted by the African Association to undertake a search for the source of the Nile and determine the commercial possibilities of Africa. His travels in the Middle East, including a journey to Mecca and Medina in 1814-15, were undertaken as training for his African explorations, which were never realized. In his *Travels In Arabia*, published posthumously in 1829, Burckhardt expresses his dislike of town Arabs, although he does allow that they maintain some measure of pride "however corrupted the true Bedouin character may be among this degenerate race" (Burckhardt 1968:51). Burckhardt's *Notes On The Bedouins And Wahhabys* (1830), written at the height of European Romanticism, incorporated themes of this movement into his usually objective style and his observations on the Bedouin were full of praise for their "sentiment of liberty, which has driven and still keeps [them] in the Desert, and makes them look with contempt upon the slaves that dwell around them" (Brent 1977:12-13).

Sim maintains that Burckhardt was the first to promote the image of the Bedouin as proud, noble, and independent and notes his influence on later travellers to Arabia:

> The Italian, Belzoni, who so much admired [Burckhardt] and may well have been quoting him said: "the Bedouin are no more like the Arabs of Egypt than a free man is like a slave". (1969:400-401)

Sadleir

In 1819 Captain George Forster Sadleir was the first European to make a recorded crossing of the Arabian Peninsula. His mission was to contact and congratulate Ibrahim Pasha on his suppression of the Wahhabis and to encourage him to attack pirate ports on the southern Persian Gulf whose activities "had damaged the prestige and interests of the British Government" (Edwards in Sadleir 1977:7). The Indian Government wished to propose a joint action against troublesome tribes but the Egyptians had little interest in fighting Britain's battles and declined the suggestion. Sadleir's misssion was also a failure in the sense that a quarrel with Ibrahim over the suitability of the latter's gifts to the Governor-General of Bombay (horses with used saddles) led to strained diplomatic relations.

Sadleir did not share Burckhardt's romantic views of the Bedouin as proud desert aristocrats. Brent notes that Sadleir hated Arabia and the Arabs and made no concession whatsoever to local custom. Sadleir's diary indicates his attitude towards the Bedouin:

> ...the procrastination, duplicity, falsity, deception, and fraudulence of the Beduin cannot be described by one to a European in language which would present to his mind the real character of those hordes of robbers. To attempt to argue with them on the principles of justice, right or equity is ridiculous and to attempt to insist upon their adhering to promises or agreements is equally fruitless, unless you possess the means of forcing compliance. (Brent 1977:139-140).

Sadleir also complains of the treachery of his guide, who had appeared meek and trustworthy until the party reached the desert, at which point "his conduct was that of a barbarian who had got his prey in his power and determined not to lose the opportunity lest another not so favourable should not offer" (ibid.: 140).

In his introduction to Sadleir's narrative, Edwards maintains that the latter was the most objective traveller in the history of British exploration of Arabia and that no sign of his personality emerges in his writing. The nature of the argument noted above and the quotes given from Sadleir's diary may belie this somewhat and indicate a certain degree of imperial arrogance but, in any case, the absence of a developed literary style and the lack of a romantic approach to his experiences in Arabia resulted in Sadleir's book being almost completely unknown outside the

Bombay Literary Society until the publication of Palgrave's *Personal Narrative Of A Year's Journey Through Central And Eastern Arabia* caused a public sensation in 1866 and publishers became eager for any works which dealt with travel in Arabia.

Wellsted

J.R. Wellsted, a naval officer, described his travels in Arabia in *Travels To The City Of The Caliphs* (1840), dedicated to Admiral Sir Charles Malcolm, former Superintendent of the Indian Navy and the President of the Geographical Society of Bombay. Although told entirely in the first person, the book actually describes not only Wellsted's travels but those of his friend, Lieutenant Ormsby of the Indian Navy, to the Middle East in 1826-30. Wellsted's stated intention is "to give the whole an oriental tone and colouring, which would breathe through the narrative the soul of a young and enthusiastic wanderer" (1840:vi).

In the course of this romantic enterprise, Wellsted describes "the hospitable and truly noble character of this extraordinary race" (the Bedouin) and notes their "chivalrous and energetic valour" (ibid.:28,38). This description of the Bedouin, similar to Burckhardt's, will be seen to be virtually constant throughout the discourse, although random variations do exist. After providing various examples of Arab romance to create his intended tone, Wellsted refers to another consistent aspect of this discourse: entangled in a dangerous situation in Damascus, he relies on the threat of immediate retribution from the British military to extricate himself. The presence of this power, existing everywhere in the discourse as something "already-said", shall be viewed as one determinate factor in the conditions of possibility which provide the external contours of discourse.

Kinglake

A.W. Kinglake's *Eothen* (1844) marks a rupture in the discourse of travel literature. Earlier travel accounts had emphasized the gathering of facts about foreign lands. Although the collection of information about Arabia continues as an important aspect of the discourse under consideration, Kinglake's text provides travel literature with a new form: the explicit intervention of the authorial sensibility between the reader and what is observed. Although Kinglake did not venture into Arabia as it is now defined, his travels did take him on an extensive tour of the Middle East (Greece, Turkey, Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Egypt). Because of its importance in establishing a new tradition in travel literature, its recognized status as a classic of that genre, and the fact that it manifests concerns which are constant in travel accounts of Arabia, I will posit *Eothen* as one of the limits of the discouse under investigation.

Kinglake represents the first in a series of gentleman travellers, all of whom break with the earlier tradition of travel litrerature by exhibiting a strong projection of character; Pritchett, in his introduction to *Eothen*, typifies them as "solitary rebels...strange, eccentric... carrying nothing but their characters with them" (in Kinglake 1970:vii-viii). Kinglake himself comments on this aspect of the travel writer:

> Once having determined to write the sheer truth concerning the things which have interested him, he must and he will sing a sadly long strain about Self. (ibid.:xxiv)
> But it seems to me that this egotism of a traveller, however incessant - however shameless and obtrusive - must still convey some true idea of the country through which he has passed. His very selfishness - his habit of referring the whole external world to his own sensations - compels him, as it were, in his writings to observe the laws of perspective; - he tells you of objects, not as he knows them to be, but as they seem to him. The people and the things that most concern him personally, however mean and insignificant, take large proportions in his picture, because they stand so near to him. He shows you his dragoman, and the gaunt features of his Arabs - his tent - his kneeling camels - his baggage strewed upon the sand: but the proper wonders of the land, - the cities - the mighty ruins and monuments of bygone ages - he throws back faintly in the distance. It is thus that he felt, and thus he strives to repeat the scenes of the Elder World. You may listen to him for ever without learning much in the way of statistics: but perhaps if you bear with him long enough, you may find yourself slowly and faintly impressed with the realities of Eastern travel. (ibid.:xxiv-xxv)

The suspicion immediately arises that such idiosyncratic travellers as are here discussed will yield only insights into individual personalities, or that this is the only manner in which they may be understood. For example, Kedourie claims that the study of Lawrence can only be "strictly personal" due to Lawrence's "private torment" and that we can never understand Lawrence in the context in which I will be placing him: "In the bleak extreme of human experience where we try to follow him, what he can show us most clearly is the mystery of existence, the unknowableness of human motive and the solitariness of the will" (1956:88). Similarly, Tidrick (1981) emphasizes psychological aspects of the travellers and numerous biographies have attempted to explain the character of various individual travellers.

The analysis of these works of travel literature as an internally consistent and unified discourse must address this issue of determinedly individualistic authors, particularly since I have, in a seeming paradox, posited *Eothen* as the initiating moment of a discourse which has as one of its main features the intrusion of authorial consciousness into empirical observation. However, it is my suggestion that these works do indeed form a unified discourse which issues not from idiosyncracy but from a unified site of origin which may be located in a particular class of British society. I will maintain that not only are the works of travel considered here reflective of the ideology of this class but, following Althusser (1971) and Foucault (1972), that the authors are actually constituted by this ideology and discourse itself.

Pritchett himself, after indicating the solitary and eccentric nature of these travellers, admits that Kinglake was not simply an isolated personality in a foreign land:

"He could rely, if necessary, on a word with governors on the mysteries of British prestige; he was used to the word of command" (1970:viii). Furthermore: "He is very English - of the period - in his jaunty self-confidence before the benighted races" (ibid.:xi). Jewett (1981:57) has also noted the influence of Kinglake's strong sense of national and racial superiority on his text. However, it is not merely that an ethnocentric bias is reflected in Kinglake's work but rather that the entire momentum of the text is directed by and towards British national and class concerns. The influence on Kinglake of the Greek revival which was sweeping Britain at the time will be illustrative here.

Kinglake's title derives from the Greek, meaning "from the Dawn" or "from the East" and the text is introduced by a quote from Herodotus, appearing in the original Greek in early editions but translated in my copy to read: "He made his way toward the dawn and the rising of the sun" (Kinglake 1970: n.p.). (Considering the importance I have accorded *Eothen* in the discourse, the title seems appropriate.)

At the time Kinglake wrote, Britain was indulging itself in what can be regarded as a fetishism of things Greek and this fetishism was particularly prevalent among the upper classes. By the mid-18th. century, the Grand Tour of Europe was nearly mandatory for the upper classes but travel to Greece was regarded as an exciting novelty. After a visit to Greece, James Stuart designed a Doric temple in Hagley Park in 1758, the first building of the Greek revival and one which would inaugurate a passion for Greek architecture and Neo-classicism which lasted well into the nineteenth century and one which would cover the British landscape with pseudo-Hellenic structures. Jenkyns describes this architectural movement as "a sort of archaeological process, a gradual recovery of the true antiquity" (1980:10).

In literature, too, the Greeks enjoyed tremendous popularity and a vogue began for reading the Classics in Greece, with a resulting confusion of time and space; the landscape was accorded a special significance because of its connection with famous people and events, both historical and mythological: "Thus a taste for Homer became intertwined with a romantic interest in topography and travel" (ibid.:8). Jenkyns also detects a crisis in confidence within the production of nineteenth century British literature, in which a need to produce a great epic was confronted with the conviction that Victorian writers could never match *The Odyssey* or *The Iliad*. In literature, as in architecture, the Greeks became a standard of perfection and Victorian writers saw themselves as inhabiting an age in which the great works had already been written while the Industrial Revolution created a progressively uglier world which science drained of fantasy (ibid.:21-25). Such a crisis looms behind the production of the travel discourse.

Among the upper classes, there was a growing emphasis on a Classical education: "Even more than Latin, Greek was the stamp that authenticated culture and class" (ibid.:63). Kinglake, descended from a family of Scottish lawyers "settled in Somerset since the reign of James the First", and educated at Cambridge, certainly felt such an influence; Pritchett notes that he was brought up on "horsemanship [and] Homer" (in Kinglake 1970:viii). Kinglake recounts his childhood love for Homer in religious terms: "As an old woman deeply trustful sits reading her Bible because of the world to come, so, as though it would fit me for the coming strife of this world, I read and read the Iliad" (ibid.:50).

The devotional depth of such a comparison may be lost on modern readers, who may regard it as merely a clichéd and sentimental figure of speech. Yet it is precisely to such figures of speech that we must attend, remembering that the Victorian age was an intensely religious period in which Christian proselytization combined with the economic drive of capitalism. Although Pritchett tells us that "he was not one of those Englishmen who underwent a spiritual conversion in the desert"(ibid.:xv), Kinglake did have a spiritual experience in the East, which I will discuss below. At this point, I wish to stress that Kinglake attributes a spiritual quality to a book, in this case one which supplies a heroic past in Eastern lands and to which he surrenders in quasi-religious fervour:

> Even outwardly it was not like other books; it was throned in towering folios... the *Iliad* was all in all to the human race...it was history, poetry, revelation...the work of men's hands were folly and vanity, and would pass away like the dreams of a child, but...the kingdom of Homer would endure for

> ever and ever.
> I assented with all my soul. I read, and still read; I came to know Homer. (ibid.:50-51)

Kinglake goes on at length to describe this childhood rapture of reading ancient books, a complete mystic immersion in texts which is characteristic of the discourse as a whole. Science and academic knowledge clash with this romantic/spiritual engagement:

> Heroic days are these, but the dark ages of school-boy life come closing over them... a sad intellectual fall...You feel so keenly the delights of early knowledge; you form strange mystic friendships with the mere names of mountains, and seas, and continents, and mighty rivers; you learn the ways of the planets, and transcend their narrow limits, and ask for the end of space; you vex the electric cylinder till it yields you, for your toy to play with, that subtle fire in which our earth was forged; you know of the nations that have towered high in the world, and the lives of men who have saved whole empires from oblivion. What more will you ever learn? Yet the dismal change is ordained, and then, thin meagre Latin (the same for everybody), with small shreds and patches of Greek, is thrown like a pauper's pall over all your early lore; instead of sweet knowledge, vile, monkish, doggerel grammares, and grammuses, dictionaries, and lexicons, and horrible odds and ends of dead languages are given you for your portion and down you fall...
>
> It was not the recollection of school nor college learning, but the rapturous and earnest reading of my childhood which made me bend forward so longingly to the plains of Troy. (ibid.:52-53)

Thus, impelled by texts, Kinglake makes his pilgrimage to the East. Reaching Scamander, he feels somewhat disappointed to find it a mere river with a physical "profane" existence. Too much reality is not what he desires; it is the landscape of imagination which lives for him and it is only memory which will restore to "divine Scamander...the proper mystery belonging to him as an unseen deity" (ibid.:54). Kinglake does celebrate a truth revealed in his sacred text, however, when his own experience confirms a description of landscape given by Homer but contradicted by modern maps:

> So Homer had appointed it and so it was: the map was correct enough, but could not, like Homer, convey *the whole truth*. Thus vain and false are the mere human surmises and doubts which clash with Homeric wit! (ibid.:58)

Kinglake is unimpressed with modern Greece; only the past interests him: "According to me the most interesting of all the Greeks (male Greeks) are the mariners, because their pursuits and their social conditions are so nearly the same as those of their famous ancestors" (ibid.:76). Similarly, Greek religion has been corrupted by modern influences: the "cringing...base prostrations [and] superstition" of Greek Orthodox religion are "sadly abject and repulsive [as they] hang like lead upon the ethereal spirit of the Greek", although such a religion is entirely suited to the Russian serf (ibid.:69). (It will be recalled that a growing Russian presence and weakening Ottoman control posed a threat to British interests in the area; thus, the spiritual decline of the East becomes political allegory.)

This emphasis on the past (shared by most of the travellers discussed here) leads directly to the motif of death in Kinglake's text. Going from Austrian to Ottoman territory at the outset of his journey, Kinglake crosses into a plague zone; the political reference to the decaying Ottoman Empire is clear. Leaving "the civilised world", Kinglake crosses a Stygian river to an "austere and darkly impending" Turkish fortress:

> ...no sounds came down from the black walls above, and there was no living thing that we could see, except one great hovering bird of the vulture race flying low and intent, and wheeling round and round over the pest-accursed city. (ibid.:1-4)

Greeted by guardians of the past, poor "Turks of the proud old school [who] had not yet forgotten the fierce, careless bearing of their once victorious race [who bear the] gloomy pride [of those] who live and remember old times" they are led into the dead Turkish city:

> The Moslem quarter of a city is lonely and desolate...blank windowless dwellings...strewed with the black ruins that some late fire has left; you pass by a mountain of castaway things, the rubbish of centuries, and on it you see numbers of big, wolf-like dogs lying torpid under the sun, with limbs outstretched to the full, as if they were dead; storks or cranes sitting fearless upon the low roofs, look gravely down upon you; the still air that you breathe is loaded with the scent of citron and pomegranate rinds scorched by the sun, or... with the dry, dead perfume of strange spices. You long for some signs of life, and tread the ground heavily, as though you would wake the sleepers with the heel of your boot; but the foot falls noiselessly upon the crumbling soil of an Eastern city, and silence follows you still. (ibid.:5-7)

Travelling through Turkey, Kinglake passes a pyramid of human skulls and thieves impaled on poles. In Constantinople, he attempts to avoid contact with passers-by on the street to avoid contagion but, passing a funeral, he is brushed by a corpse. He sees "coffin-shaped bundles of white linen that [imply] an Ottoman lady" (41). One of these women lowers her veil and Kinglake turns "pale before the beauty that is great enough to have dominion over you"- the beauty of the angel of death:

> She sees, and exults in your giddiness - she sees and smiles; then, presently, with a suddenly movement, she lays her blushing fingers upon your arm and cries out "*Yumourdjak*!" (Plague!, meaning, "There is a present of the plague for you!"). (ibid.:42)

This emphasis on the East as a dead or dying land is continued throughout Kinglake's text: in the Troad "all the earth was dead and still" (ibid.:53), while in the desert near Gaza the "air above lay dead" and the earth is "still and lifeless" (ibid.:239). Kinglake enters the land of death and triumphs over it; in fact, he can play games with death. The plague rages in Cairo, everyone he meets dies of it, despite their various precautions, which Kinglake mocks. Approaching a Levantine banker with letters of credit, he finds himself greeted in an ungentlemanly manner:

> Mr. Banker received me with a sad and dejected look, and not "with open arms," or with any arms at all, but with a pair of tongs! I placed my letter between the iron fingers: these instantly picked it up as if it were a viper, and conveyed it away to be scorched and purified by fire and smoke. I was disgusted at this reception, and at the idea that anything of mine could carry infection to the poor wretch who stood on the other side of the bars - pale and trembling and already meet for death. I looked with something of the Mahometan's feeling upon these little contrivances for eluding fate: and in this instance at least they were in vain: a little while and the money-changer who had strived to guard the days of his life (as though they were coins) with bolts and bars of iron - he was seized by the plague, and he died. (ibid.: 255)

Disdaining such precautions, Kinglake moves freely about the streets, inventing a game for himself: if touched, he loses, if not he wins. This disdain for death is not only an indication of Kinglake's personal resolve but also a demonstration of British common-sense about the nature of contagion. Furthermore, Kinglake's disdain for the Levantine money-changer, identified only by his role - Mr. Banker - reveals an attitude shared by Kinglake's class: a Victorian gentleman should not be interested in money and the greed and bad manners of the bourgeoisie fit them for death.

Nature, too, bends to British superiority:

> Sometimes in the earlier part of my journey the night-breeze blew coldly; when that happened, the dry sand was heaped up outside round the skirts of the tent; and so the wind that everywhere else could sweep as he listed along those dreary plains, was forced to turn aside in his course and make way, as he ought, for the Englishman. (ibid.:228)

The British aristocracy is shown to be able to cope with the desert as no other can. Not only can he impress the Arabs as "superhuman" because he dares to cross the desert with a small party, as they do not, but his mind, too, can conquer the desert because of its superior nature:

> To servants, as I suppose to any other European not much accustomed to amuse themselves by fancy or memory, it often happens that after a few days' journeying, the loneliness of the desert will become frightfully oppressive. (ibid.:230-231)

Although Kinglake revels in a triumph of the individual will ("*I myself, and no other, had charge of my life*" (ibid.:290)), it is clear that this triumph is merged with that of his class (as demonstrated above) and with the triumph of Christianity. Riding through the desert, Kinglake pits himself against:

> ...the fierce will of the sun...As he bid the soft Persian in ancient times, so now and fiercely too, he bid me bow down and worship him; so now in his pride he seemed to command me, and say, "Thou shalt

> have none other gods but me." I was all alone before him. There were these two pitted together, and face to face; the solitary sun for one - and for the other, this poor, pale solitary self of mine that I always carry about with me.
>
> But on the eighth day, and before I had yet turned away from Jehovah for the glittering god of the Persians...before me were the gardens...of Egypt...(ibid.:242-243)

Kinglake indirectly refers to the nobility of the Bedouin, but clearly feels they will benefit from British influence. Meeting some nomads near Gaza, he sees in them "the suffering of one fallen from a high estate" but the women:

> ...have neglected their prime duty of looking pretty...The Bedouin women have no religion; this is partly the cause of their clumsiness. Perhaps, if from Christian girls they would learn how to pray, their souls might become more gentle, and their limbs be clothed with grace. (ibid.:218-219)

At the Red Sea, he experiences a moment of joy similar to that which he had felt when travelling through the landscape of Homer; because of their importance to the development of Christianity, Kinglake is thrilled to stand in the very spot where the "panting Israelites" first viewed the Red Sea (Ibid.:293). The true moment of religious epihphany, however, occurs at the sanctuary of Nazareth. Not, as Pritchett says, a conversion but rather a reaffirmation of his own creed and "fevered with the zeal of an insane devotion to the heavenly queen of Christendom" (ibid.:136). Kinglake is also happy to note that a massacre of Muslims at Bethlehem has replaced "the hateful laws of Asiatic decorum [with] sweet freedom [and] sunshine" (ibid.:206-207).

Thus, the aristocratic, British, Christian traveller triumphs over death and nature and exults in the power of his faith. The triumph is also political: the Sphinx, timeless, will see Islam "wither away; and the Englishman straining far over to hold his loved India, will plant a firm foot on the banks of the Nile..." (ibid.:285-286).

Kinglake does not refer to other travel accounts but he does note the presence of other travellers in the East. The first is his rich friend Carrigaholt at Smyrna, whose acquisitions are not limited to the collection of material goods but extend to the purchase of slaves, a child to love him as a father, and, nearly, a bride, although Carrigaholt's "high breeding and his delicately sensitive taste" detect a fraud in this matter and the transaction is not concluded.

There is also Lady Hester Stanhope, living near Beirut. For Kinglake, hers is as fabled a name in his childhood as Robinson Crusoe. A friend of his family, Stanhope now reigns as the "Queen of the Desert - a queen who dwelt in tents and reigned over wandering Arabs" (ibid.: 100). Stanhope did not meet Kinglake's expectations - he found her ridiculous and close to madness - but he says the extent of public curiousity about her forced him to write of his meeting.

There is also an army officer Kinglake meets in the desert. Each raises his hat "as if [they] had passed in Pall Mall" and only speak to each other because the servants of both parties have done so and it is necessary to preserve decorum. The anecdote became rather a famous one; it was an image the British liked and one which also functioned as an element of power:

> It was an upper-class image, fostered by the public schools and encouraged by artists as different as Kinglake and Henty: it was an image so totally different from any other, so pronounced of character, so difficult to match or imitate, so rooted in centuries of national integrity, that *in itself it was an instrument of government*. It bolstered the unassailable aloofness of the British. It made them seem a people apart, destined to command. (Morris 1968:510)

Considered together, these three individuals form a significant complex, incorporating three aspects of British imperial power in the Middle East: economic control, romantic image, and codes of behaviour. The Arabs have their own view of the British traveller, believing that an evil spirit:

> ...drives him from his home like a victim of the old Grecian furies, and forces him to travel over countries far and strange, and most chiefly over deserts and desolate places, and to stand upon the sites of cities that once were, and are now no more, and to grope among the tombs of dead men. (Kinglake 1970:232)

This does, in fact, sum up the situation rather well, although it seems clear that Kinglake has embellished somewhat the Arab interpretation, and we may accept it as allegory for the travellers considered here, even if we read it in a somewhat different sense from that intended by Kinglake. This other reading may be suggested by the following comments on Jameson's treatment of Conrad's *Lord Jim* (1899):

Briefly, Jameson theorizes the Conradian narrative

> apparatus as one powerful solution to the dilemma of modernist aesthetics, which had proposed to overcome the reification of everyday life at the moment at which capitalism was conquering all the hitherto existing sanctuaries of aesthetic experience: not only the private realm of art itself, but also those heretofore exotic regions of the world to which Western aesthetes like Gauguin and Rimbaud had been able to escape. Part of the lesson of Jim's unsuccessful flight in *Lord Jim* is just this recognition that the capitalist world system has left one nowhere to hide, that the possibility of private redemption has been foreclosed by the penetration of the market into the most remote regions of the world and the self (for both of which Patusan stands as the exemplary figure).(Sprinker 1982:63)

Conrad will serve as an example of the expression of concerns similar to those existing in the travel discourse, as they are treated in an adjacent practice, the mode of fiction. As has been pointed out in a discussion of the effects of Romanticism on Conrad's work, the latter's texts characteristically employ a form similar to that of the travel account, a voyage to:

> ...an uncluttered, elementary world that appears to promise self-discovery, growth, personal renewal. Conrad's protagonists leave the ordinary, the "civilized" world behind them, or think they do, and travel into primitive locales where they are tested, if not by Nature alive with magical or demonic powers, at least by a Nature whose menace and strangeness retain something of the old enchanted. (Thorburn 1973:224)

Conrad belongs to a later period, of course, and Kinglake's text merely expresses an embryonic awareness of what will later become a major crisis within the discourse. At the time Kinglake wrote, however, the redemption discussed above still seemed a possibility. It is not merely a personal or spiritual redemption but one which is linked to capitalism and imperialism. Kinglake himself indicates that he travelled not "because of ennui, but was strengthening his will, and tempering the mettle of his nature, for that life of toil and conflict in which he is now engaged" (Kinglake 1970: xxvi). If Sprinker's comments equate capitalism with original sin, we can also see an analogous suggestion made in Kinglake's text, although from a different perspective. Far from being the witty tale of a pleasant holiday jaunt, as Pritchett suggests, Kinglake's text is at once a political tract and an exposition of racial and religious bigotry laced with class hatred.

Warburton

Kinglake dedicated *Eothen* to an anonymous friend, probably Eliot Warburton, who wrote his own travel book on the Middle East, *The Crescent And The Cross* (1844). Not only were Kinglake and Warburton friends, they reviewed each other's books (de Gaury 1972:51). Tidrick discusses the characteristics of Warburton's book, several of which seem quite similar to *Eothen*: mastery over nature, Arabs as non-persons requiring British rule, an emphasis on British prestige. Warburton's "setpiece" on the Bedouin she finds full of stereotypes; the characteristics Warburton ascribes to them ("independence, chivalry... hospitality, endurance...purity of blood") occur throughout the discourse (1981:49). Tidrick feels that Bedouin racial pride struck a responsive chord in the British, whose own preoccupations with this matter led them to valorize the former:

> By 1910 most narratives of travel in the Levant contained a setpiece on the Bedouin in which they were described as independent, faithful and hospitable. A situation had arisen in which a traveller who wished to produce a saleable narrative for a public familiar with Gibbon [who had employed the Bedouin as an influential metaphor for both personal and national independence in *The Decline And Fall Of The Roman Empire*] had to include such a piece. (ibid.:21)

Tidrick also notes Warburton's contempt for the Egyptian *fellahin*; the contrast between settled and nomadic Arabs, with the former held to be as contemptible as the latter were noble, was, with rare exception, posited by every British traveller in Arabia. Furthermore, Tidrick claims that when Warburton described the Arabs it was always with implicit reference to characters from the *Arabian Nights* (which Kinglake had read while in Cairo), the Bible, or from Romantic poetry, notably that of Byron (ibid.:50). Similarly, she says of Burckhardt that his writing reflects "his own assumptions as an avid reader of Gibbon, Niebuhr, and d'Arvieux" (ibid.:29). In this sense, Tidrick's own remarks tend to contradict her dismissal of Said's thesis advanced in the latter's *Orientalism* (1978), that a discourse about the Middle East shaped the views of Europeans who wrote about the area.

Lowth

Eothen inspired a vogue for travel in the Middle East. G.T. Lowth described his journey of 1850-51 in *The Wanderer In Arabia* (1855), acknowledging the authors who had preceded him. Lowth is the aristocrat on tour, hiring servants, boats, caravans, delirious in the " *Arabian Nights'* scene" of Egypt, "a theatrical stage for [his] amusement" (Lowth 1855:I,3). Just as Kinglake relived the reading of his youth, Lowth finds his childhood memorization of the *Arabian Nights* brought to life: he hires a cook because of his resemblance to an *Arabian Nights* character ("How can I part from one of the intimate companions of my earliest years?" (ibid.:I,18)). Similarly, an Egyptian merchant is seen to be totally unlike his prosaic British counterpart because he has the "blood of the wanderer of the desert...in the self-possessed air and in the high-caste features the stamp of nature's nobility" (ibid.:I,6).

Lowth's initial enthusiasm for Egypt soon palls, however. Like Kinglake, he is unimpressed by the pyramids: they have become too familiar. He looks to the desert to find the spirit of liberty: ("Let us go upon the Desert. It is the emblem of release from all the manacles of complex laws and the fetters of cities" (ibid.:I,49). In the desert Lowth relives childhood dreams and biblical scenes, just as he had earlier found living pages from the *Arabian Nights*.

Although Lowth is rather unusual in his assessment of the Egyptian *fellahin* as "civil...and intelligent" (ibid.:I,126), he is less so in his assumption that conversion to Christianity will improve them (ibid.:I,303). Lowth also advocates economic changes under British direction (ibid.:II,277). As with many other travellers, Lowth has no doubt that the Middle East will be better off under British domination and he closes his account with a proclamation of British superiority and its destined role in the supervision and control of the area. Lowth's own page headings give an indication of his view of the Middle East: "Ancient Blood and High Breeding...The same Then as Now...The Bedaween and the Petra People...Distictive Races...Arab Honour...Bible Reminiscences...English Moral Influences...England's Duty...The Future of Turkey" (ibid.:II,iii-vii).

Burton

The romantic view of the Bedouin is expressed at length in the writing of Sir Richard Burton, himself one of the most romantic of nineteenth century travellers. This image of Burton is promoted in various biographies which, like many of those of Lawrence, present the traveller as hero through emphasis on chivalry and Eastern fantasy; for example: Dearden's *The Arabian Knight* (1953), Downey's *Burton Arabian Nights Adventurer* (1931), and Edwardes' *Death Rides a Camel* (1963). Brodie (1971:13) portrays Burton as a "satanic" figure; Freeth and Winstone (1978:123,133) describe him as "the great eccentric of nineteenth century exploration and literature", noting his "arrogant style" and his self-portrait as an Elizabethan born out of time. Bidwell (1976:73) also comments on Burton's Elizabethan image.

Burton's grandfather had been "an English country gentleman of substantial means" (Brodie 1971:20) and a family legend claimed descent from Louis XIV of France, but Burton's father was unsuccessful and steered the family across Europe, frittering away money. Enough remained to send Burton to Oxford but he was rusticated for what was deemed scandalous behaviour. Burton purchased a commission in the Bombay Army and went to India in 1842, where he began to develop his great linguistic capabilities which would allow him to "one day reign over all others as translator and propagandist for the literature of the East" (ibid.:49). His "encyclopaedic knowledge" of the East would not only be demonstrated in his account of his disguised journey to Mecca and Medina ("massively indigestible, with its forest of footnotes, its long and erudite conjectures...lengthy and discursive [with] exhaustive detail"), but also in his sixteen-volume translation of the *Arabian Nights* (Freeth and Winstone:1978:7).

In India Burton was much influenced by the views of his commanding officer, Sir Charles Napier, who advocated a strong military rule over native populations. Burton began undertaking intelligence missions in India, going about disguised as a native. His habit of mixing with Indians brought him disfavour with his fellow officers and an explicit report on homosexual brothels in Karachi ruined his military career in 1845. The public mention of homosexuality was shocking to Victorian Britain; Burton's report made him notorious ever after and it was assumed that since Burton wrote of homosexuality he indulged in its practice.

Since homosexuality exists as a sub-theme, a secret whisper through this discourse, it may do to comment briefly on the subject in relation to Burton. Brodie finds that the Arab world was for Burton, as it was for Lawrence and Thesiger, "essentially masculine":

> "El Islam," [Burton] noted, "seems purposely to have loosened the ties between the sexes in order to strengthen the bonds which connect man and man." (Brodie 1971:128)

Brodie also comments on Burton's habit of associating with other travellers, "usually quiet, handsome, relatively inarticulate men, also restless, footloose and unattached"; John Hanning Speke, for example, "was instantly captivated by Burton, and slipped into the role of a quietly adoring younger brother" (ibid.:132). Speke accused Burton of homosexuality but Brodie sees this as a defence mechanism for Speke's own homosexual tendencies; she notes that "Speke's history is empty of his affection for any woman, save his mother"(ibid.:210).

Burton wrote voluminously on the sexual customs of the East and evinced his own peculiar notions on the subject (for example, defending genital mutilation on the grounds that too many orgasms endangered health). He was rumoured to have been involved in homosexual sadomasochism with Algernon Swinburne and Fred Hankey, to whom Burton promised to send the skin taken from a victim of human sacrifice in Dahomey (ibid.:244-248). Burton also planned a three-volume work on the sword in which it becomes a mystical-phallic weapon of destruction and creation. The point to be made here is not simply that Burton may have displayed an aberrant sexuality but rather that the discourse of travel literature exists as a field in which sexual practices repressed in Britain could be alluded to by discussing them in relation to exotic peoples.

Burton's experiences at a sadistic preparatory school made him detest Britain and his early years in France made him ambivalent about both countries, with a resulting lack of national identity (ibid.:35-37). Yet Assad (1964:17) remarks on Burton's "intense patriotism" and Brent views him as "a passionate patriot" who was misunderstood and had to operate on the periphery of the official world of empire. Tidrick describes him as a "fervent imperialist [full of] imperial enthusiasm...pride in his Englishness and passionate concern with England's glory", but maintains that Burton had to invent a Britain to be loyal to and that he identified more with the notion of empire than with that of nation:

> He could never have expressed a patriotism like Wilfrid Blunt's, founded on love of the ancestral soil; Burton's patriotism had to express itself imperially, because only in the imperial enterprise was there a place for misfits like him. (1981:65-67)

The strong sense of the self which is expressed in Burton's writing is common to many of the British travellers in Arabia and while it may be the natural result of individualistic capitalism devloping during the period, the psychological stress involved produces a complex dialectic between self and empire, one which surfaces throughout the travel discourse but also in other literatures. *Lord Jim*, as noted above, is a primary text in this matter but other of Conrad's works also suggest themselves. For example, Raskin dismisses archetypal criticisms of *Heart Of Darkness* (1899), emphasizing it as "a concrete record of Belgian colonialism in the Congo" and a criticism (perhaps too equivocal a one) of that colonialism which examines its effects on both colonizer and colonized. (Interestingly, Raskin notes that Conrad employed not only his own experiences in the Congo for *Heart Of Darkness*, but incorporated accounts of other travellers in Africa, including Bruce, Speke, and Burton. (1967:113-117). *Lord Jim* itself may have been inspired by Wilfrid Blunt's published account of a British captain abandoning a cargo of pilgrims in a storm at Jedda (Longford 1979:168).)

In Burton's text, as in Kinglake's, empire is the mechanism which allows full expression of the imperialist('s) self and in both cases this expression is achieved with no questioning of the situation which allows that expression. By the time we come to Lawrence, however, the contradictions will have reached a crisis. Not only will Lawrence live out the trajectory of Lord Jim, he will face Kurtz's horror. In fact, it will destroy him. After Lawrence comes guilt, bitterness, and nostalgia.

For Burton, there was no doubt of Britain's right to rule. Like Napier, he advocated a firm hand in India. In Egypt in 1853, he was irritated at interference with British rule and complained that Egyptians had begun to take offence at verbal abuse. In the preface to his *First Footsteps In East Africa* (1856), he supported exploration and imperialism by appealing to national pride. In his *Personal Narrative Of A Pilgrimage To El Medinah And Mecca* (1857), he suggests that civil government suitable to Britain will not work in the Middle East where harsh justice and firm rule is necessary.

In 1852 Burton offered his services to the Royal Geographical Society of London, with the intention of crossing the Arabian Peninsula from Medina to Muscat. (The Royal Geographical Society had incorporated the African Association, which had sponsored Burckhardt, in 1831; Burton was to become a founder and first president of the Anthropological Society of London in 1863. This united with the Ethnological Society to form the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain. In 1873 Burton founded the London Anthropological Society.) Burton's proposed journey was to serve several purposes: to explore the possibilities of an Arabian-Indian horse market, to gather information on the Rub'al Khali (Empty Quarter), to explore Arabian hydrography, and to research racial theories. Time limitations did not allow crossing the entire peninsula and Burton's journey was limited to Medina and Mecca.

Racial notions occupy much of Burton's thought, in keeping with contemporary anthropological concerns. Assad notes Burton's dislike of Blacks (1964:29), such as is exemplified here:

> I never once set eyes on the face of woman there, unless the African slave girls be allowed the title. (Burton 1857:286)

Burton also dislikes Indians ("the most antipathetical companion to an Englishman"): their initial flattery is replaced by familiarity and rudeness; cringing in the British presence, they become insulting when alone. Westernized Indians are viewed as the worst because they attempt to exercise notions of "liberty and equality" against the British who taught them and who they should continue to serve. In Burton's view, Indians only respect authority, which is not the case "amongst a brave people". With the exception of the Rajputs ("the focus of Indian chivalry"), Burton views the Indians as

> ...a cowardly and slavish people, who would raise themselves by depreciating those superior to them in the scale of creation. The Afghans and American aborigines, being chivalrous races, rather exaggerate the valour of their foes, because by so doing they exalt their own. (ibid.:I,39-40)

For Burton, as for Lawrence, the ultimate crime is to serve another race, something depicted as a prostitution of the self:

> Woe to the unhappy Englishman, Pacha, or private soldier who must serve an Eastern lord! Worst of all, if the master be an Indian who, hating all Europeans adds an especial espite to oriental coarseness, treachery, and tyranny. Even the experiment of associating with them is almost too hard to bear. (ibid.:I,39)

For Burton, the Indians are "as a race the least chivalrous of men" (ibid.:II,94f.n.). Although "lying to the Orientals is meat and drink" (ibid.:II,234) and he dislikes the "pride and covetousness" (ibid.:II,258) of the inhabitants of Mecca, the Arabs are somewhat more appealing to Burton and even the Meccans have some good qualities:

> ...his courage, his bonhomie, his manly suavity of manners, his fiery sense of honour, his strong family affections, his near approach to what we call patriotism, and his general knowledge...The dark half of the picture is pride, bigotry, irreligion, greed of gain, immorality, and prodigal ostentation. (ibid.:II,260)

Obviously, Burton likes the Arabs in relation to the extent in which they are able to mirror characteristics the British liked to attribute to themselves. Skill in riding and combat arouses his admiration for a troop of "semi-barbarian" Albanian cavalry and his remarks here will be echoed later in the discourse by Lawrence when the latter discusses the Arab Revolt:

> They have another point of superiority over us, - they cultivate the individuality of the soldier whilst we strive to make him a mere automaton. In the days of European chivalry, battles were a system of well fought duels. This was succeeded by the age of discipline, when, to use the language of Rabelais, "men seemed rather a consort of organ-pipes, or mutual accord of the wheels of a clock, than an infantry and cavalry, or army of soldiers". Our aim should now be to combine the merits of both systems; to make men individually excellent in the use of weapons, and still train them to act naturally and habitually in concert. (ibid.:I,258-260)

Most of all, however, it is the Bedouin who capture Burton's admiration:

> ...good-humoured...sociable...delight in a jest, and

> may readily be managed by kindness and courtesy. Yet they are passionate, nice upon points of honour, revengeful and easily offended where their particular prejudices are misunderstood. I have always found them pleasant companions, and deserving of respect, for their hearts are good and their courage is beyond a doubt. Those travellers who complain of their insolence and extortion may have been either ignorant of their language or offensive to them by assumption of superiority - in the Desert man meets man - or physically unfitted to acquire their esteem. (ibid.:I,144)
>
> The best character of the Bedouin is a truly noble compound of determination, gentleness, and generosity. Usually they are a mixture of worldly cunning and great simplicity, sensitive to touchiness, good tempered souls, solemn and dignified withal, fond of a jest yet of a grave turn of mind, easily managed by a laugh and a soft word, and placable after passion, though madly revengeful after injury.
>
> ...it is a kind of société leonine, in which the fiercest, the strongest, and the craftiest obtains complete mastery over his fellows...(ibid.:II,86)

Again, not only do we see that Burton advertises himself - those who complain about the Bedouin either cannot master their language or are not physically strong enough to win their esteem, and Burton does not complain. He glorifies the danger and harshness of desert life (ibid.:II,88) and praises the Bedouin as natural poets (ibid.:II,97), but most of all Burton admires their valour, warlike nature, and sportsmanship (all qualities necessary for the imperial hero):

> The Bedouin considers himself a man only when mounted on horseback, lance in hand, bound for a foray or a fray... Even in his sports he affects those that imitate war. Preserving the instinctive qualities which lie dormant in civilisation, he is an admirable sportsman. (ibid.:II,103)

In a long comparison of the Bedouin to the North American Indians, Burton again stresses valour and honour but here accentuates the chivalrous nature of the Bedouin. Freeth and Winstone (1978:145) claim that much of Burton's own personality is mirrored in his portrait of the Bedouin. Yet there is as much a self-portrait (or at least a self-idealization) of Victorian Britain as there is of

Burton. The emphasis on chivalry, particularly, deserves some comment, for just as it had idealized the Greeks, Britain was now in the throes of a medieval revival which had begun in the late eighteenth century and was to permeate every aspect of British society until the end of the First World War. Certainly Burton was influenced by medievalism, as exemplified in his frequent references to chivalry, his mystical attachment to the sword, and his self-description as an Elizabethan (the Elizabethan age had had its own medieval revival (Girouard 1981:17)).

As with the Greek revival, the medieval craze was manifested in architecture, so that in addition to the Hellenistic temples and columns which erupted across Britain there was a proliferation of not only Gothic galleries and arches but entire castles. In considering this appropriation of time and space, we should not overlook the construction of pavillions and houses on the Indian design or, for that matter, Burton's own grave with its Bedouin tent and camel bells. In short, Britain became a landscape of signs, all of which could be read as empire.

Girouard has pointed out that the medieval revival was deeply related to the insecurity of the upper classes. The growth of urban industrial capitalism in the nineteenth century threatened the traditional system of personalized, rural aristocratic control. Not only did the various castles dotting the British landscape act as a sign of traditional authority, but manuals of chivalrous behaviour for the gentleman, such as Digby's *The Broad Stone Of Honour* (1822), promoted a comforting ideology which reinforced aristocratic rule (ibid.:44,62). Although earlier travellers had remarked on Arab chivalry, Burton elaborated extensive comparisons; chivalry became a major theme of the discourse and virtually every traveller after Burton makes at least a passing reference to it. In the work of the Blunts, Doughty, and Lawrence, the identification of Arab chivalry and British medievalism is complete.

Burton also remarks on the difference between settled and nomadic Arabs, with the superiority of the latter being held to be corrupted according to the degree of contact with the former. For example, he states that the Beni-Harb have kept their racial purity for thirteen centuries but have recently sullied themselves by breeding with pilgrims, "retaining none of their ancestral qualities but greed of gain, revengefulness, pugnacity, and a frantic kind of bravery, displayed on rare occasions"(Burton 1857:I,240). At the village of Kuba, he finds:

> ...the farmer race of Arabs, the most despised by their fellow countrymen, and the most hard-favoured...[Amid] a confused heap of huts...foul lanes, heaps of rubbish, and barking dogs - the usual material of a Hejazi village [Burton finds Arabs] fearfully and wonderfully resembling the tail-less baboon. (ibid.:I,389-390)

Similarly Burton remarks of the inhabitants of Medina:

> ...pride, pugnacity and a peculiar point of honor, and a vindictiveness of wonderful force and patience are the only characteristic traits of Arab charcter which the citizens of El Medinah habitually display. Here you meet with scant remains of the chivalry of the desert. (ibid.:II,18-19)

Although Burton indulged the same romanticization of the Bedouin as had Burckhardt and maintained their superiority to the settled Arabs, he was not prepared to let such sentiments interfere with the ends of imperialism. As he stated in *The Gold Mines Of Midian* (1878), "the Bedawi...is like the noble savage generally, a nuisance to be abated by civilzation" (in Assad 1964:29). Assad says of Burton:

> ...what he found most attractive in the East, its freedom from the conventions of European civilization, he uses as an argument for British imperialism; for the practical Burton pictured this uncivilized portion of the world as crying for the strong rule of England. (ibid.:51)

Like Kinglake, Burton regards Arabia as essentially belonging to the past. For Burton (1964:23) Arabia is "a fairy-land" which belonged to the pages of the *Arabian Nights*. But, as with Kinglake, there is the same stimulation at the thought of conquering both nature and death (Burton 1857:II,126). Although Burton does not indulge in the same religious ecstasies as Kinglake exhibited, both experience an epiphany of self in their desert wanderings (ibid.:I,145-146).

I have noted Burton's vast knowledge of the East; his narrative is continually interrupted by footnotes on a wide variety of subjects and he compares his findings with those of earlier travellers. Although his book caused an immediate romantic sensation, Burton was also renowned as a scientist, linguist, anthropologist, and literary figure. His embrace of the East was not only romantic but intellectual, an attempt to *know* every aspect of it. It was not mere curiousity which prompted this quest, however; Burton felt that "successful government of an empire could not be achieved by pure force of arms, but only through an appreciation of the way of life of the native people" (Walker in Burton 1964:2). Said also sees Burton's acquisition of knowledge as a form of domination:

> For even in Burton's prose we are never directly *given* the Orient; everything in it is presented to us by way of Burton's knowledgeable (and often prurient) interventions, which remind us repeatedly how he had taken over the management of Oriental life for the purposes of his narrative. And it is this fact - for in the *Pilgrimage* it is a fact - that elevates Burton's consciousness to a position of supremacy over the Orient. In that position his individuality perforce encounters, and indeed merges with, the voice of Empire, which is itself a system of rules, codes, and concrete epistemological habits. (Said 1978:196)

Palgrave

W.G. Palgrave was the son of a medieval historian who married into a wealthy family and received a knighthood in 1832. Raised as an Anglican, Palgrave had a strong interest in his Jewish background although after leaving Oxford and joining the army in India he became a Roman Catholic and, in 1849, a Jesuit, undertaking missionary work in Lebanon. Freeth and Winstone claim that Palgrave's Jewish heritage somehow gave him "an intuitive affinity with eastern peoples" (1978:155). Tidrick states that "race and nationality...were subjects of overwhelming importance to him" and that Palgrave's journey to Arabia was a religious quest, although one strongly influenced by literature, specifically Lamartine's *Voyage en Orient* (1981:87,96). Palgrave's travels also had a political motive. In 1860, he had a personal interview with Napoleon III of France in which he pointed out that a French presence in Northern Arabia would prepare the way for French control of the Persian Gulf. In 1861 Palgrave gathered information in Egypt and Syria, then went on to Arabia. Part of his mission was to assess the tribal situation in the Jabal Shammar area, where a recent increase in military strength had alarmed the Turks. Palgrave's expedition was financed by Napoleon III and the Jesuits.

Palgrave claimed that he was the first European to cross the Arabian Penninsula west to east, although many other travellers doubted his claims and the truth of Palgrave's story has been a continual subject for debate within the discourse. For example, Burton, Pelley, and Philby dispute his story; Doughty and the Blunts have reservations but accept it. Cheesman devotes a large section of his *In Unknown Arabia* (1926) to a meticulous comparison of Palgrave's description of the Hasa region with that of Philby and concludes that, although both exhibit inaccuracies, each had visited the area. Kiernan (1937:244) suggests that Palgrave has been attacked by so many other travellers because of a prejudice against the Jesuits, while Tidrick (1981:93-94) attributes the situation to suspicion that Palgrave was a French spy.

Palgrave's book is dedicated to Carsten Niebuhr, the Danish explorer of Arabia: *The Results Of A Journey Itself Inspired By That Great Journey* (Palgrave 1871:n.p.). Again, the journey takes place in a "weary plain in a black monotony of lifelessness... Dreary land of death" (ibid.:6); "some strange and dreamy world where man might not venture" (ibid.:341). However, Palgrave is unlike other travellers in that he prefers town Arabs to nomads.

The leader of a group of Bedouin met at the beginning of his journey has "good sense and manly character [is] brave and foresighted [but] unprincipled". The others are:

> ...utter barbarians in appearance no less than in character, wild fickle, restless, and the capacity of whose intellect was as scanty as its cultivation. [His guide advises him to] avoid all familiarity with them, lest it should diminish the involuntary awe of the savage for the civilized man. (ibid.:3)

Among the Bedouin "you may see human nature at its lowest stage" (ibid.:6). Palgrave remarks on Bedouin "rudeness" but:

> ...if they violate all laws of decorum or courtesy, it is out of sheer ignorance... amid the aimlessness of an utterly uncluttered mind they occasionally show indications of considerable innate tact and shrewdness. [They are fickle but have the] groundmark of of a manly and generous character, such as a Persian, for instance, seldom offers. Their defects are inherent to their condition, their redeeming qualities are their own; they have them by inheritance from one of the noblest races on earth; from the Arabs of inhabited lands and organized governments. [After experience of] many races, African, Asiatic and European, I should hardly be inclined to give the preference to any over the genuine unmixed clans of Central and Eastern Arabia. Now these last-mentioned populations are identical in blood and in tongue with the nomads of the

> desert, yet how immeasurably superior! The difference between a barbarous Highlander and an English gentleman in *Rob Roy* or *Waverly* is hardly less striking. (ibid.:17)

Although Palgrave is unique in attributing such nobility to settled Arabs as opposed to nomads, we may note that he turns to Scott for his terms of comparison (Sir Walter Scott was highly influential in the beginning of the medieval revival). Whereas Burton had claimed that the Bedouin degenerate in relation to their proximity to towns, Palgrave claimed exactly the opposite; describing the inhabitants of Djowf, whom he places midway between settled and nomadic Arabs, he states:

> ...they partake largely in the nomad's aversion to mechanical occupations, in his indifference to literary acquirements, in his aimless fickleness too, and even in his treacherous ways. And though in general much superior in politeness and self-respect to the Sherarat [Bedouin] and their fellows, they are equally far from displaying the dignified and even polished courtesy usual in Shomer and Nejd, much less that of Hasa and 'Oman. On the other hand, in cleanliness of person and habitation, in agricultural skill, in reasoning powers, in a sort of local patriotism, in capacity for treating with strangers and conducting commerce, and even in an occasional desire of instruction and progress, they come nearer to the remaining townmsmen and villagers of the Peninsula. They were, in fact, originally, to judge by the standards of Ta'i, their ancestral tribe, a fairly civilized race after the Arab fashion, and have still a positive tendency to become so once more, though long held back by the untoward circumstances of war and faction, besides the deteriorating influence of the savage tribes amongst whom they are in a way isolated by their geographical situation. (ibid.:45)

Palgrave also prefers travelling with town Arabs and again refers to them in terms of British literature:

> Nor were our fellow companions now mere Bedouins and savages, but men from town or village life, members

> of organized society, and so far civilized beings... such was our Canterbury pilgrims' group. (ibid.:132-133)

He is not much taken with the Wahhabis, stressing their "envy and hatred; rapacity and licentiousness", although he appreciates their "courage [and] endurance" (ibid.:232). Palgrave is, however, impressed by the gentlemanly ruler of Jabal Shammar, Talal-ebin-Rasheed:

> Affable towards the common people, reserved and haughty with the aristocracy, courageous and skilful in war, a lover of commerce and building in time of peace, liberal even to profusion, yet always careful to maintain and augment the state revenue, neither over-strict nor yet scandalously lax in religion, secret in designs but never known to break a promise once given, or violate a plighted faith; severe in administration, yet averse to bloodshed, he offered the very type of what an Arab prince should be. (ibid.:91)

Tidrick (1981:101) notes that a special attachment formed between the British traveller and a specific Arab prince is common to Palgrave, the Blunts, and Philby; Lawrence may be added to this list.

Like Burton, Palgrave dislikes Blacks. He notes that they imitate the upper classes and become the most bigoted of Wahhabis, "a tendency which is the more fostered by hereditary narrowness of intellect" (ibid.:271-272). This prejudice is one which is almost a constant of the discourse.

Palgrave's text is also significant because of its many literary allusions. Descent into the valley of Jabal Shammer is likened to Poe's *Maelstroom* and each chapter is headed with a line of poetry from authors such as Shakespeare, Dante, Byron, Shelley, Pope, and Tennyson. Dante's contribution, of course, indicates the inferno and the fanatical realm into which Palgrave wanders. Shakespeare's lines on poison preface a chapter in which Palgrave is forced to drink a cup of possibly poisoned coffee. Shelley and Byron add a suitably Romantic touch to the venture, while Tennyson ("But I hold the gray barbarian lower than the Christian child") introduces the book, sets the tone, and posits the over-determining provision: the Arabs, in spite of whatever nobility Palgrave allows them, are inferior to the European Christians.

In effect, Palgrave's text is shot through with poetry, as Kinglake's was with references to Homer, and thus the entire venture poeticized. In contrast to Kinglake, however, Palgrave's text also provides much *useful* information: lists of tribes, populations, revenues, resources, military strength.

A consistent system of literary allusions (the Greeks, the Romantic poets, the Bible, the *Arabian Nights*, other travel accounts) runs as a pronounced striation through the travel discourse and there is much attention paid to what each traveller reads on the course of the journey or which books have inspired it. One correlate of public and critical success seems to be the degree to which a book is *literary* - those books (such as Sadleir's) which are little more than official reports largely have lapsed into obscurity. The works which have been most widely-read or critically acclaimed are those which stand as *literature*, whether essay or epic, as well as description. Since literature can be said to be something more than a presenation of facts, it seems not too much to suggest that it is a certain momentum within literature itself, rather than purely objective description, which comes to form the doxa in which the discourse unfolds and further creates itself, particularly when one takes into account the three types of readers which it affects. By the time we reach Doughty and Lawrence, we will discover that this literary aspect has nearly taken over completely and that *Travels In Arabia Deserta* and *Seven Pillars Of Wisdom* are almost as equally concerned with other books as they are with their authors' travels in Arabia.

It is not, of course, purely the literary impulse which provokes the incitement to discourse. Rather we must be aware of a rather complex syncretism of literary, personal, and political concerns which direct this discourse. For example, Palgrave's visit to Arabia was one direct cause of a journey made to Riyadh by Pelley in 1865.

Pelley

Colonel Sir Lewis Pelley was educated at Rugby and joined the Bombay Army of the East India Company in 1841. After a series of rapid promotions and service in India, Persia, Afghanistan, and Baluchistan, he became Political Resident of the Persian Gulf in 1862. In 1883 he was offered control the Congo Free State by the King of Belgium but

Pelley declined and went to work for the Geographical and Asiatic Societies.

Pelley's journey to Riyadh was undertaken partly to fix its geographical position, partly to restrain Wahhabism, and partly to determine the extent of French influence there. Pelley describes his journey in terms of national prestige (see below), but it is clear that personal motives paid a part. Pelley was "extremely jealous" of Palgrave (Bidwell in Pelley, n.d.:viii), as Palgrave was of Burton (Penzer 1967:46). By and large, the British travellers in Arabia seem rather a petty lot in this respect; for example, Philby is gnawed by jealousy when he discovers that Thomas has beaten him in the crossing of the Rub'al Khali and frequently is seen to crow with unrestrained egotistical joy when he finds himself the first to perform some deed. With Freya Stark (1938;274), we will see such jealousy verging on the murderous.

However, it is not merely the physical journey which is a matter of competition but the writing of it as well. As Bidwell notes:

> The expedition ended on a sour note, with Pelley determined not to share the credit for it with any of his comrades and preventing one of them from writing about it. (in Pelley, n.d.:viii)

Of course, the written record tends to act as proof that the physical journey has been made (although it may not necessarily go unchallenged, as we have noted in the case of Palgrave), but there is another type of connection between writing and travelling:

> Like no other kind of writing, travel books exercise and exploit the fundamental and emotional figure of thought, by which the past is conceived as back and the future as forward. They manipulate the whole alliance between temporal and spatial that we use to orient ourselves in time by invoking the dimension of space. That is, travel books make more or less conscious an activity usually unconscious. Travel books are special because the metaphor they imply is so essential. (Fussell 1980:210-211)

The travel book thus creates a double journey by recounting the events of the first, physical journey. Pelley attempts to merge the two:

> I think I shall be able to give the most faithful, although not perhaps the most artistic sketch of the journey, by extracting from my Daily Note Book; and this method, accordingly, I propose to follow. Premising only that in describing a march across a barren waste, the narrative, if faithful, must necessarily partake of the character of the region traversed. (Pelley n.d.:14)

Pelley only whispers what becomes more pronounced in other travel books. Reviewing Raban's *Old Glory* (1981), Mendelsohn notes that Raban, like Pelley, intended that "the book and the journey would be all of a piece", that the book would meander like the course of the river it follows. Yet Mendelsohn states that the form of the book is not that of the river but rather that of other books:

> His model was the quest-romance, especially in its Renaissance versions, but he borrowed elements from the heroic myths of all ages. "A journey which had all the essential features of a myth."...His quest begins in the psychological wastes of London, where everyone he meets is trapped in arid self-satisfaction, and he himself unable to write. (1982:15)

So for Raban, the physical journey, which is also a journey within and guided by literature, will allow him to write. Nearly all the British travellers in Arabia will be seen to be much concerned with writing. Kinglake, for example, can only write his book by addressing it as a personal message to a friend and makes many excuses for it (Kinglake 1970:ix-xxvi). Burton attempted to write everything, to capture Arabia with words. Palgrave (1871:v) claims that his journey was undertaken "with the purpose of observing rather than of publishing", yet Freeth and Winstone describe him not as a scientist but "an imaginative poetic observer...a writer of splendidly evocative prose...[who produces] a superbly readable adventure story" in the tradition of the *Boy's Own Paper* (1978:152,155,188,191). Brent discusses Palgrave as a "conscious stylist" (1977:124). Kiernan sees Palgrave as "essentially a dramatic writer...His book was intended to enthrall at all costs" and states that anyone who writes on Arabia "challenges two comparisons, one based upon a standard of courage and the other on that of literature" (1937:246,248,317).

Pelley's book is not poetic in the manner of Palgrave's, nor an epic like that of Doughty and Lawrence. Nor is it a personal essay in the style of Kinglake. For all his concern and jealousy about literary matters, Pelley's text, with its numerous appendices on minerals, flora, horses, routes, and revenues, exists more as an official report like that of Sadleir.

Pelley contributes little to the romantic image of the Bedouin. Meeting some Wahhabis in the desert, he is surprised to find them begging for tobacco:

> ...far from wearing the puritannical aspect which one had been inclined to attribute to them, those fellows seemed to me some of the wildest, most restless, inquisitive creatures, I ever came across...every rogue arose. (Pelley n.d.:18)

Like Palgrave, Pelley is impressed by figures of authority. The Emir of Riyadh he finds:

> ...a sensible and experienced man, yet that he was surrounded by some of the most excitable, unscrupulous, dangerous and fanatical people that one could come across. (ibid.:51)

Also like Palgrave, Pelley shows a great interest in Arab horses and asks to see those of the Emir:

> I added that it was etiquette among ourselves when one English gentleman asked to see the stud of another to refrain from remark. (ibid.:50)

This reference to the habits of the British aristocracy occurs elsewhere in Pelley's narrative: "...no English gentleman could be more unobtrusively courteous and hospitable than Yoosef ben Bedr" (ibid.:8). Referring to his Selaibee guide, Pelley says:

> There is no doubt that his own appearance is as superior to that of many of the Selaibees I saw at Kowait, as the appearance of an English gentleman is superior to that of a country boor. (ibid.:25)

Not only does Pelley draw comparisons between Arab and British aristocracy; anything British serves as a standard of quality by which to measure Arabia. Like Kinglake and Burton, Pelley was convinced of British superiority, although he was willing to praise the capabilities of strong

Arab rulers, such as the Emir of Riyadh. Personal and national prestige merged in his conviction of the right of the British officer and gentleman to go where he pleased; in a letter to C. Gonne, Secretary to the Government of Bombay, May 15, 1866, Pelley writes:

> The Royal Geographical Society in London had recorded that no European could show himself in the capital of Najd without probable fatal consequences. and this record was shown to me as a sort of challenge, which I was inclined to take up, since it had been my habit to consider that an English Officer, with caution and experience, can go anywhere in Asia where his duty to the Indian Government requires him. (ibid.:2)

Keane

John Fryer Keane's *Six Months In Meccah* and *My Journey To Medinah*, describing travels made in 1877-1878, were published as a single volume in 1881. Son of a clergyman, Keane had worked as an overseer in a West Indies sugar plantation and his experiences there are perhaps reflected in his defence of Arab slavery, which he suggests is an educational experience for Black Africans who lack the capacity to 'elevate' themselves and who possess "moral senses in the merest elementary form" (Keane 1881: I,99).

In keeping with the thoughts of other travellers, Keane finds Mecca "a city of the dead" (ibid.:159) and notes that "the community of Meccah is composed of the most bigoted Mohammedans, the fanatical scum of the whole Mohammedan world" (ibid.:14). Although he finds their appearance wretched, Keane admires the Bedouin as "the real sons of the Desert, as distinguished from their spurious brethren in Egypt, Palestine, and other countries..."(ibid.:4).

✓ Just as Wellsted had extricated himself from a compromising situation in Damascus by invoking the threat of certain retaliation by the British military, Keane also refers to power, in this case prefacing his text with an article from *The Times* which testifies to British strength in the Middle East and Britain's ability to exert its influence by prestige as well as by military force. Thus, military strength and the ability of the lone British traveller to journey anywhere, including the centers of the Muslim faith, are simply two variations on the same theme of power.

The Blunts

In marked contrast to the bleak vision of Doughty (see below) is the romantic Arabia of the Blunts. Although Wilfrid Scawen Blunt is often mentioned as the most dashing, aristocratic and anti-imperialist of travellers, it is his wife, Lady Anne Blunt, who wrote the book for which Wilfrid is most-remembered, *A Pilgrimage To Nejd* (1899). The overshadowing of Anne Blunt's contribution is typical of the discourse of travel in Arabia which is dominated by male figures. It is true that Gertrude Bell is accorded respect for her work in the Middle East, but more as an archaeologist and administrator in Iraq than as a desert traveller. Similarly, Stanhope achieved fame in the early nineteenth century but, again, less as a traveller than as a mad queen reigning in an exotic Eastern palace. The 'giants' of Arabian travel are all men. The situation of women in Victorian British society limited the possibility of women's participation in such activities, of course, but sanctions exist within the discourse itself. Philby, for example, growls that women simply should stay home (1939:4). In the case of Anne Blunt, her achievements simply were appropriated by her husband. While it is true that none of the women travellers wrote a book to equal the complexity of *Seven Pillars Of Wisdom*, the literary production of Blunt, Bell, Bent, Cobbold, or Stark is more or less on a par with the accounts of travel written by men.

Later commentators on the history of British travel in Arabia have also contributed to the neglect of the role of women. Bidwell, for example, describes Anne Blunt as a rather ridiculous figure:

> ...shy and mouselike and her Arabic so perfect and classical that hardly anyone could understand a word she said. (1976:146-147)

Bidwell's information probably comes from Blunt's grandson, who says that she was "tiny and shy, with something of the wistful disposition of a mouse" (Freeth and Winstone 1978:273). Those who read the second volume of the *Pilgrimage*, however, will note that Blunt spends much of her journey through Persia caring for her incapacitated husband. Lady Wentworth, the couple's daughter, accused her father of being jealous of his wife's intellect and said that he "appropriated the credit of her brains to himself with shameless arrogance" (ibid.:289). The Blunts had separated in 1906 after Wilfrid's many infidelities; the parting was not an amiable one, so it is possible that the comments of both relatives are not completely objective. However, both Freeth and Winstone (1978:269) and Assad (1964:135) claim that Anne was the better Arabist. Freeth and Winstone also portray a different Anne Blunt than does Bidwell:

> [Her] narrative style is admirably clear and easy for the modern reader...From it she emerges as a cool, self-assured woman, strong-willed and ready to accept all the hardships of travel. She was totally unsentimental, in contrast to the popular idea of the Victorian lady at home who was supposed to be incapable of facing the harsher realities of life. (1978:272)

Both the Blunts came from an aristocratic background. Anne's father was the Earl of Lovelace and her grandfather, Lord Byron. (Byron, of course, contributed to the Romantic image of the East and the Byronic hero - the haunted wanderer - bears a relation to many of the Arabian travellers; Wilfrid Blunt, who had 'fagged' for Byron at Harrow, described himself in such terms in Athens in 1859.) Like Burton, Wilfrid Blunt had terrible experiences at school, in this case Twyford, a preparatory school where he was bullied and felt like a "slave" (Longford 1979:10). Brought up by a Calvinist nurse and educated by Jesuits, he had a deep attachment to Catholicism in his youth, following his mother's conversion, which had at first shamed him but later became a source of pride. As in the case of Palgrave, Blunt's religion set him apart and caused a deep spiritual crisis. Also like Burton, Blunt was an aristocrat who experienced problems with his inheritance which sometimes made his position insecure.

Medievalism also played a large role in Wilfrid Blunt's imagination. At school he had sketched knights in armour and in 1875 at Crabbet, his ancestral estate in Sussex, the Blunts hosted a medieval tournament in which the ladies were kidnapped by Moslem raiders and later rescued by Christian knights.

Although Anne Blunt wrote the main text of the *Pilgrimage*, Wilfrid contributed an introduction. As with Doughty the journey is described in religious terms appropriate to the title:

> [The] romantic interest [of Nejd] seems no unworthy object of a religious feeling, such as might prompt the visit to a shrine. Nejd, in the imagination of the Beduins of the North, is a region of romance, the cradle of their race, and of those ideas of chivalry by which they still live...imbued as we were with the fancies of the Desert, Nejd had long assumed the colouring of a holy land; and when it was decided that we were to visit Jebel Shammar, the metropolis of Beduin life, our expedition presented itself as an almost pious undertaking; so that it is hardly an exaggeration...to speak of it as a pilgrimage. Our pilgrimage then it is, though the religion in whose name we travelled was only one of romance. (Blunt 1966:ix-x)

Unaware of Doughty's presence in the area at nearly the same time, the Blunts acknowledged three predecessors (Wallin, Guarmani, and Palgrave) but claimed to be the first to travel undisguised. Since Palgrave's descriptions of Nefud and Jebel Shammer did not match their own observations, they claimed precedence for their discoveries as well as for their admiration for the patriarchal form of tribal government which existed in Central Arabia, a political system Wilfrid thought was best suited to the area. For Anne's part:

> The charm of the East is the absence of intellectual life there, the freedom one's mind gets from anxiety in looking forward or pain in looking back. Nobody here thinks of the past or the future, only the present. (ibid.:I,1-2)

Thus the Blunts found Arabia (at least in terms of its marriage customs) "little changed...from what it was in the days of Abraham" (ibid.:I,xi).

Brent suggests that Wilfrid Blunt was "perhaps the first true participant in the beduin masquerade" (1977:146); the Blunts adopted Arab dress out of romantic preference As Anne said:

> Wilfrid on the chestnut mare...wants nothing but a long lance to make him a complete Beduin. (Ibid.:I,31)

The *Pilgrimage* continues themes noted in other travel accounts; of Mohammed Dukhi ibn Smeyr, Anne says:

> ...noble though he is in point of blood, [he] is not a fine specimen of a great Beduin Sheykh. His politeness is over-strained and unnatural, reminding one of city rather than desert manners. (ibid.:I,24)

Similarly, the Ibn Aruks of the town of Meskakeh are:

> ...not in themselves of any particular interest. Like their relations of Tudmur, they have been too long settled down as mere townspeople, marrying the daughters of the land, and adopting many of the sordid town notions, but they were honest and kind-hearted, and the traditions of their origins, still religiously preserved, cast an occasional gleam of something like romance on their otherwise matter of fact lives. Nassr, the best of the elder

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> generation, resembled some small Scottish laird, poor and penurious, but aware of having better blood in his veins than his neighbours. (ibid.:I,129-130)

Nassr's sons "even had a certain appreciation of chivalrous ideas" (ibid.:I,130) and the Blunts prefer the one who upholds this ideal most strongly and:

> ...in whom the Beduin blood and Beduin traditions predominated almost to the exclusion of commercial interests. (ibid.:I,130)

The Blunts are shocked, however, when their "Scottish laird" asks for payment in return for his hospitality:

> In spite of their noble birth and Nejdean traditions, they have the failings of town Arabs in regard to money... (ibid.:I,150)

Thus, we again see the romantic-aristocratic ideal, the preference for country over town, and the upper-class disdain for involvement in finance projected fully onto the Bedouin. Familiar racial themes also occur in the *Pilgrimage*. Although "Arabs never reason", they are much preferred to Blacks; of the slave Awwad, Anne says:

> Like most negroes he had too good an opinion of himself, and insisted on being treated as something more than a servant. (ibid.:I,46)

Anne is especially affronted to see Arabs in subordinate positions to the Black Governor of Meskakeh:

> Johar is a perfectly black negro, with repulsive African features...It struck me as eminently absurd to see this negro, who is still a slave, the centre of an adulous group of white courtiers, for all these Arabs, noble as many of them are in blood, were bowing down before him, ready to obey his slightest wink and laugh at his poorest joke. (ibid.:I,44)

The Blunts exhibit an intense concern with pedigrees and pure races. Anne ridicules the Persian pilgrims they meet because their manners are less elaborate than those of the Bedouin; during their journey through Persia, she notes the "mixed breeding" of the Beni Laam. No longer true Bedouin, they soon turn out to be untrustworthy. As Tidrick (1981:130) has noted, racial impurity was a common excuse employed when Arabs did not live up to their romantic image; when a traveller is betrayed by an Arab in the travel discourse, there is usually a mention of racial impurity. Thus the Beni Laam, who extort payments from the Blunts:

> ...do not lay claim to much good breeding...their Arabian blood has since become so much diluted with foreign additions, that in Nejd itself they would not be accepted as nobly born...They will even marry with townspeople and Bagdadis. (ibid.:II,130-131)

These racial notions can be related to Wilfrid Blunt's aristocratic insecurities. Not only did he fear the aristocracy "being dislodged from its traditional role as the governing class by bureaucratic laws and by the rise to power of crude middle-class capitalists", he also felt that the profit motive of imperialism was supplanting its original motives of a civilizing mission because of a moral and racial decay which he blamed on the Jews. (Doughty, too, saw the Jews as a secret conspiracy fully as evil as Islam itself (Doughty 1928:I,101).) Not surprisingly, the "aristocratic version of racism" propounded by his friend Arthur de Gobineau held much appeal for Blunt (Tidrick 1981:132).

The Blunts, however, were very impressed with Ibn Rashid, the Emir of Hail, and applauded the traditional system of aristocratic-patriarchal rule which existed there. Wilfrid Blunt also viewed such a system as appropriate for Britain:

> In his books, he never tired of discussing the virtues, rights and duties of the aristocracy, and a number of writers, including himself, have testified to the archaic and patriarchal manner in which he ran his estate. (ibid.:117)

Much has been made of Wilfrid Blunt's championing of the Arab cause and his anti-imperialist activities. He was politically involved from 1875-1889, criticizing British imperialism in Egypt and India, and served two months in jail for holding a political meeting in Ireland. Tidrick maintains, however, that Blunt's anti-imperialist activities can be traced to his failure to win professional success and that they can be described as "the petulence of a jilted lover" (ibid.:159). Assad (1964:54) claims that Blunt showed little true sympathy for the Arabs and would have betrayed them at any time in order to further his own interests. Wilfrid Blunt showed a strong emotional attachment to the political system of Nejd; patriarchal government, loosely administered with little bureaucratization, appealed to Blunt's own vision of a British aristocracy ruling with little government interference. It seems clear, then, that Blunt promoted the idea of a Bedouin aristocracy ruling Arabia from desert strongholds because such a system supported his own feudal desires:

> In championing the Arab cause Blunt was striking a blow for the principle of aristocracy. Nejd had seemed to him to be a unique repository of the traditional virtues, an example to the world of a

> society ruled with a light but confident hand by a rural aristocracy whose claim to legitimacy was based on birth and not on wealth. By publicizing the existence of such a society and the desirability of preserving its independence he was affirming in a vivid public manner the virtues of aristocracy - and the legitimacy of his own social position. (ibid.:124)

Like Doughty, Wilfrid Blunt felt that Britain was in decline and had lost its chivalrous character. The introduction of competitive examinations for the Civil Service, once reserved for the elite, was viewed by Blunt as one sign of this decay. Blunt's ideal society was a feudal one and his nostalgia for such a system made Arabia into a paradise of aristocratic power. Many of the travellers who stress the aristocratic nature of the Bedouin, whether as strong princely rulers or outcasts from former majesty, are themselves aristocrats who occupy an insecure position because of financial difficulties; Blunt, Burton, Doughty, and Lawrence all experienced problems with their inheritance. For them, the Bedouin functioned as an example of a natural aristocracy which could endure any hardship which befell them. Each of these travellers stresses a moral decline in Britain, one suspiciously parallel to the insecurity of their own position.

The Arabia of the Blunts was different from that of Doughty in terms of its romantic aspects, but was given the same medieval connotations. Wilfrid Blunt dwelt in an:

> ...imaginary age compounded of the Renaissance, the Medieval Courts of Love and the Land of Heart's Desire...His contemporaries believed that Eastern influences were responsible for his many loves. His interest in the East may indeed hav accentuated his

> tendency to behave like a pasha...he was a medieval romantic looking for an ideal woman on the road to the Holy Grail. (Longford 1979:426-427)

Indeed, Blunt did have an Arthurian romance with Dorothy Carleton and a faltering one of the same sort with Lady Margaret Sackville. Blunt and the latter would dress for dinner in Arab clothing and she referred to him as "Merlin" (although after reading a copy of the *Morte d'Arthur* given to him by William Morris, Blunt preferred to see himself as Lancelot). Merlin/Lancelot later had an affair with Mary Elcho, whom he referred to as his 'Bedouin Bride' during the course of their Arabian masquerade. The erotic element of the medieval/Arabian intersection is most explicit in the work of Burton and in Blunt's philandering, although Lawrence and Thesiger alluded to the homosexual freedom of Arabia.

Like Kinglake, Doughty, and Lawrence, the Blunts associated with the major artistic and literary figures of the time. As with Burton and Palgrave, the Blunts stress the poetic aspects of Arabia; Anne's text is shot through with the same type of poetry which occurs in Palgrave's work. The Romantic poets are invoked to add a fantasy aspect, Classical quotations reveal the influence of the Greek revival and impose the authority of the past, while the Bible and *Pilgrim's Progress* emphasize the spiritual aspects of the *Pilgrimage*. There are also quotes from other travellers in Arabia.

The Bents

Another married couple, Theodore and Mabel Bent, followed the Blunts into Arabia. Since Theodore died of malaria shortly after the journey, Mabel edited his notes for *Southern Arabia* (1900), the book which describes their travels. Mabel Bent, in 1893, seems to have been the first European woman to have travelled in the Hadhramaut, but neither of the Bents are considered as major figures in the pantheon of Arabian travel (Bidwell 1976:181). As noted, literary accomplishment is a major criterion in determining the importance of a traveller; Brent (1977:152-157) stresses this point while demonstrating a sexist conception of history when he claims that Theodore Bent is not remembered as a great explorer (the implication, intentional or not, is that Mabel's contribution was minimal); he describes Bent as an "amateur... an impression that may be more the fault of his widow's prose style than of any actual shortcomings in his work". Brent also suggests that the Bents go unrecognized because they travelled in a mountainous region and by this time Arabia had come to be imaginatively associated with its deserts (ibid.:158).

The Bents' interests were mainly archaeological and there is much information on this subject in *Southern Arabia*. However, many of the same themes noted above occur in their text.

For example, racial notions are similar to those already described in the work of other travellers; at

Bahrein, they are greeted by a "jabbering crowd of negro slaves and stately Arabs" (Bent 1900:3). Their servant, half-Arab, half-Persian, is predictably dirty and mispronounces words. Burton, Palgrave, and Doughty had all emphasized purity of language and saw it as an indication of purity of race, attaching both characteristics to whichever group of Arabs they happened to prefer:

> [All were] influenced by the theory, a commonplace of European nationalist thought in the nineteenth century, that pure thoughts, noble actions, and pure speech go together. (Tidrick 1981:154)

Purity of language was a perpetual concern of British travellers in Arabia; it reflects not only nationalist thought, as Tidrick maintains, but also represents a direct transposition onto the Arabian desert of the aristocratic concern with accent in Britain.

Disappointed to find the natives of Southern Arabia lacking in both hospitality and clothes, Mabel Bent compares them to the "stately Bedouin" and regards the former as "naked savages", although this view is revised somewhat upon encountering the relatives of these groups amidst the palm groves and castles at Khaila. The castle at Al Koton is even more satisfactory since it is "like a fairy palace of the *Arabian Nights*" (1900:78,93,111).

Like Doughty and the Blunts, the Bents are burdened with an untrustworthy guide. Acquired at Aden he is not of the desert nobility:

> ...horrid...a fanatical Moslem, whose only object seemed to be to terrify us and to raise enemies against us, in order to prevent our trampling the

> holy land where Mohammed was born. Throughout our journey he was a constant source of difficulty and danger...He always tried to persuade the people he was superior to any of us. (ibid.:217,73,96)

In *Southern Arabia*, racial notions are explicitly combined with the motives of imperialism; in 1895, in the vicinity of Dhofar, the Bents meet the Gara tribe:

> ...nearly naked...wild-looking in the extreme...far wilder in every way than the Bedouin of the Hadhramaut, inasmuch as they have far less contact with civilization. The Bedou of Southern Arabia is, to my mind, distinctly of an aboriginal race. He has nothing to do with the Arabs, and was probably there just as he is now, centuries before the Arabs found a footing in his country. He is every bit as wild as the African savage, and not nearly so submissive to discipline, and is endowed with a spirit of independence which makes him resent the slightest approach to legal supervision. (ibid.:249)

The reference to possible problems of "legal supervision" plainly has an imperialist design, since for all its drawbacks of being inhabited by "savages" (who, of course, may justify a civilizing British presence), Dhofar is:

> ...a real Paradise in the wilderness, which will be a rich prize for the civilized nation which is enterprising enough to appropriate it. (ibid.:276)

Not only did Bent advocate such an appropriation, she plainly saw the journey she had undertaken with her husband as an aid to it. *Southern Arabia* was intended to be a guide to future travellers, an imperialist handbook and an incitement to further discourse; much of the text is devoted to practical information designed to aid these future travellers (the price of camels, the amount to be paid to soldiers, and so on).

B. Martyrdom

Doughty

Arabia as literary enterprise predominates in the work of Charles M. Doughty. Both sides of his family had been land-owning gentry for generations and maintained a long tradition of religious orders. Hogarth describes Doughty's upbringing as:

> ...complacently aristocratic and conservative...unquestioning loyalty and patriotism were...consistently taken for granted [amid] Doughty traditions of a typical home-keeeping squirearchy, proud of race and class, equating loyalty with acceptance of the existing order and taking piety and morality for granted... (Hogarth 1928:1-2)

Doughty began the study of geology at Cambridge in 1861; in 1868 he was admitted to the Bodleian Library, Oxford, where he began an extensive study of English literature. In 1923, he claimed that he had devoted sixty years to the study of Chaucer and Spenser (ibid.:7). Doughty's aim was to serve his country by writing a great patriotic epic; in his view, both patriotism and the English language itself were in a degenerate state and Doughty planned to celebrate Britain's "noble beginnings" and restore patriotism by fashioning a great epic poem "In that English pure and undefiled which was spoken before national degeneracy began" (ibid.:8).

After 1865 the family suffered great financial loss and the travels which Doughty made through Europe, North Africa, and the Middle East were simple ones, often on foot. While at Petra he learned of rock inscriptions at Medain Salih, on the pilgrim road to Mecca, and resolved to be the "first to see and record such wonders"(ibid.:25). (The fact that these inscriptions had already been seen by Arabs seems not to have mattered, just as Philby will claim to be the first to cross a particular section of the Rub'al Khali while noting that an Arab has just done so; as is often the case with 'exploration' and 'discovery', only European efforts are acknowledge and one often finds indigenous populations inhabiting 'empty' lands.)

Throughout his travels Doughty diligently copies the rock inscriptions he encounters, despite the fact that it arouses great hostility and suspicion amongst the Arabs who feel that Doughty is magically "writing up" their land. (Since Doughty's *Travels In Arabia Deserta* was used as a textbook by the British military during the First World War, such fears seem to have been not unreasonable.) At Teima, Doughty is accused of making a well-pit wall collapse by writing about it; at Hail he is cautioned not to be seen writing, but endangers his life by continuing to do so. Although Doughty's interest in rock inscriptions did not prove fatal, other Europeans with the same preoccupations fared less well. Doughty's discovery of the Teima Stone (now in the Louvre) inspired Julius Euting and Charles Huber to collect it; the latter succeeded in having it sent to Paris but was murdered for doing so.

Uncertain about his priorities in discovery and apprehensive about the activities of Huber, Doughty engaged in a long and frustrating series of negotiations, first with the British Museum and then with the Royal Museum of Berlin, to publish the rubbings he had made in Arabia; similarly the archaic pseudo-Elizabethan style of *Arabia Deserta* prevented its quick publication.

Doughty had unsuccessfully applied to the Royal Geographical Society for financial assistance with his travels and his lecture to the Society afterwards (November 26, 1883) was little appreciated. Doughty protested that the Chairman, Sir Henry Rawlinson, had purposely attempted to minimize his achievements. Proposed changes to the text of his speech for publication prompted violent protests from Doughty, not on the issue of facts but on stylistic points; in a letter to H.W. Bates, Secretary of the Society, January 10,1884,he states:

> But as an English scholar I will never submit to have my language of the best of times turned into the misery of today...

In April, he repeated his complaint:

> I had as soon the good Sherif had hanged me at Tayif as to be made to speak so Middlesexlike...It is chaste and right English of the best time and without a word of Costermongery...(ibid.:108,110)

Clearly, Doughty's intentions in *Arabia Deserta* reflect his literary concerns:

> The *Arabia Deserta* volumes had necessarily a personal tone. A principal cause of writing them was besides the Semitic life in tents, my dislike of the Victorian English; and I wished to show, and thought I might be able to show, that there was something

> else. (ibid.:114-115)

Hogarth has examined Doughty's diaries and finds them:

> ...carefully composed, with a view evidently to ultimate publication, alternative words and phrasing appearing from time to time either above the lines or in them, and always in the same ink and script as the main text. (ibid.:69)

Doughty was much more influenced by the biblical image of Arabia than that of the *Arabian Nights* and *Arabia Deserta* is filled with biblical allusions (Tidrick 1981:138). Just as Kinglake relived his early experiences of Homer and Warburton and Lowth discovered scenes from the *Arabian Nights*, Doughty carried a Bible with him on his travels through Arabia and this book provided "the basic impetus for the travels" (Tabachnick 1981:138). Tabachnick has examined the marginal notations in Doughty's Bible and concludes that Doughty wanted to undergo a living experience of what for him was a sacred text. Not only are biblical quotations seen by Doughty to correspond to contemporary Arabian life, they also serve to justify Doughty's class disdain for involvement in commerce (ibid.:37). The Bible provides a stylistic model for *Arabia Deserta* and also a role model for Doughty in the figure of St. Paul. Doughty strongly identified with the latter but criticized him for not being more aggressively zealous in his missionary activity; Doughty, who like Paul received a new name - Khalil - on the road to Damascus, displayed no reticence in identifying himself as a Christian and never made the slightest concession to Moslem beliefs or habits. Although Tabachnick sees the identification with St. Paul as a major theme of *Arabia Deserta*, Doughty's obsessive search for origins (whether of race, language, or religion) led him to identify with another biblical character. Sharing the same masochistic tendencies found in Lawrence, Philby, and Thesiger, Doughty cast himself out of Eden (the gardens of Damascus) for a purifying sojourn in hell:

> Doughty went into Arabia *because he wanted to experience the Adamic isolation, direct contact with God, and penance*. In short, suffering cleanses. (ibid.:69)

Another biblical theme is that of St. John, which Tabachnick sees in Doughty's desire to return to the pure source of language, which in *Arabia Deserta*, as in the Bible, is given supernatural significance. Treneer gives a thorough description of Doughty's linguistic interests, discussing his extensive philological notes, collection of archaicisms and special terminologies; she comments on his use of various translations of the Bible to "test the blood of words" and supports the view that Doughty had a religious attitude and purpose in his use of language (Treneer 1935:15-30,137-167). Not only does Doughty parallel the aims of Conrad in the latter's preface to *The Nigger Of The Narcissus* (1897) by attempting to evoke a direct sensory experience through language, but words become for him the very vehicle of a spiritual quest:

> For Doughty, as for the Beduin, words and God are inevitably connected, and by purifyng English usage Doughty would be purifying prayer and thought, man's channels to God. (Tabachnick 1981:67)

Other books also shaped Doughty's experience of Arabia. Just as he imitated the style of the Bible he carried with him, Doughty brought along a copy of the *Canterbury Tales* and emulated its language in *Arabia Deserta*, even reproducing in the first edition of the latter the typography of a 1687 edition of Chaucer's work. Doughty also acknowledged Spenser in reverential terms and employed the latter's themes of moral quest and pilgrimage in *Arabia Deserta*:

> Doughty's reading of the *Canterbury Tales* led him to a medieval view of his characters...The chivalric tone and parallelism...reads like a description of both Chaucer's and Spenser's knights shorn of armour...a homely medieval air...reminds us of medieval and Elizabethan lyrics...
> For Doughty's antiquarian literary reading results in the almost medieval roguery, nobility, and saintliness that *Arabia Deserta*'s hero and his opponents display. Doughty actually saw the Arabs with the eyes of Spenser and Chaucer. (ibid.:39-40)

Treneer has also pointed out that Doughty's epic does not follow a direct narrative line but follows the labyrinths of the *Faerie Queene* and the *Canterbury Tales*, with overlapping stories and intertwining detail as well as the use of "typed" characters (1935:33).

Not only was the language of Arabia felt by Doughty to approximate that of biblical times; for him it was also the language of Chaucer and when he later wrote his patriotic epic poem *The Dawn In Britain* Doughty attributed to the early Britons the characteristics of the Arabs (Fairley 1927:81-83). For Doughty, then, as for other travellers, the journey to Arabia was a journey into the past, not only the past of Arabia but of Britain as well. Warburton evokes a very different East than does Doughty, drawing his images from the *Arabian Nights* to portray a dreamy sensual world, but the journey takes a similar direction: "As you recede from Europe...you live more and more in the past" (Warburton in Nasir 1976:101). As noted, this teleological view of the East, or the notion of Eastern decay, has a political aspect.

For Doughty, the journey into the past was always connected with writing:

> ...we may see [amongst the nomads] that desert life, which was followed by their ancestors, in the Biblical tents of Kedar...we almost feel ourselves carried back to the days of the nomad Hebrew Patriarchs...And we are better able to read the bulk of the Old Testament books, with that further insight and understanding, which comes of a living experience. (Doughty 1928:I,n.p.)

Furthermore, it is through writing that this journey is realized:

> Doughty had travelled through older England to reach Arabia. It reflects several centuries and phases of older English prose because Doughty had travelled back through each of these centuries in order to stand where he stood. (Fairley 1927:81)

Doughty found in Arabia the perfect landscape for his literary time-travel, since its mysterious origins were only manifested in the rock inscriptions he copied; as Brent says in his discussion of the original Semites, a legendary pure race known only through their writing:

> The trace they left for us is in the words they used and the alphabets they devised...Mobile, elusive, they laid down their literate spoor, then vanished into multiplicity. (Brent 1977:2)

If the near-mystical antique purity of Arabia is preserved only in the ruins of writing, literary investment nonetheless continues. Philby remarks that it is a joke among Arabs that foreigners visit their country only to write about it "and in this they do not greatly err" (1922:253). Bidwell claims: "Probably there is more written on Arabia than on any other part of the world..." (1976:6).

Thus, a vast and furious literary activity was aimed at Arabia, a 'dead' land populated not only by nomads but by the ghosts of other writers and the ghost of writing itself. Just as British architectural movements created a semiotic landscape of Empire, here was Arabia as a wilderness of pre-Babel purity in which the signs are the very wreckage of alphabets. Men like Huber die to recover it, Doughty intends to weave through Arabia the threads of a lost language which will restore the golden age of Britain; his grail is writing itself and he moves towards it by living out a literary genre, that of the quest. The Arabs view writing as a magical activity but it is no less so for Doughty and the desert for him is a blank page on which he will inscribe British ascendency.

Although the Arabs ultimately become ciphers to be decoded in terms of Doughty's own preoccupations (whether as biblical patriarchs or jousting knights) these preoccupations are typical to the discourse and Doughty's view on Arabia are not unusual. For example, the opposition between town Arabs and nomads occurs in Doughty's work:

> The settled folk in Arabian country are always envious haters of the nomads that encompass them, in their oases islands, with the danger of the desert. (Doughty 1928:I,30)

Doughty despises both, however. He notes the "predatory instinct" of the Bedouin and says of the townspeople of Maan:

> ...their minds are divided betwixt a supine recklessness and a squalid avarice...It is a proverb here that a man will slay the son of his mother for an old shoe-leather." (ibid.:I,34)

The Bedouin are somewhat preferable, perhaps because they "observe a Great Semitic Law, unwritten; namely the ancient Faith of their illimitable empty wastes" rather than following "the bitterness and blight of a fanatical religion" (ibid.:I,n.p.):

> [It is] the sour Wahaby fanaticism [which] has in these days cruddled the hearts of the nomads, but every Beduin tent [is] sanctuary in the land of Ishmael...If the outlandish person come along to strange nomad booths, let him approach boldly, and them will receive him...The oases villages are more dangerous; Beduin colonies at first, they have corrupted the ancient tradition of the desert; their souls are canker-weed beds of fanaticism. (ibid.:I,56)

Furthermore:

> ...the Mohammedan theology is ineptitude so evident that it were only true in the moon: to reason with them were breath lost, will is their reason. Nejd Beduins are more fanatic, in the magnanimous ignorance of their wild heads, but with all this less dangerous than the village inhabitants, soberly instructed and settled in their koran reading. (ibid.:I,299)

Doughty's attack on Islam, "the dreaful-faced harpy of their religion", continues throughout his text; the *haj*, for example, becomes an inversion and travesty of true religion, a pilgrimage of corpses and dogs, even including false resurrections, and is pledged to a false god (ibid.:I,66-70,80,129). Hatred of the Arabs is the major theme of *Arabia Deserta*:

> I wondered with a secret horror at the fiend-like malice of these fanatical Beduins, with whom no keeping touch nor truth of honourable life, no performance of good offices, might win the least favour from the dreary, inhuman, and for our sins inveterate dotage of their bloodguilty religion. (ibid.:I,502)

Cataloging Doughty's hatred of the Arabs would entail the recopying of nearly his entire text. Specific references to fanaticism, for example, may be found on the following pages:

> Vol.I: n.p.,38,56,103,209,299,333, 403,453,502,520,528,563; Vol.II: 44,45, 60,62,66,134,136,159,232,291,320,321,324, 326,327,333,340,341,342,344,345,395.

This is not a rigorous content analysis, merely a cursory survey; other appraisals include:

> "sordid avarice" (I,103,527)
> "sordid and faithless Semitic spirit" (I,469)
> "vile, fraudulent self-loving men and envious misanthropy" (I,400)
> "the leprosy of their own souls" (I,470)
> "the negligent bird-witted Arabians" (I,401)
> "Foul-mouthed are the Teyma, because evil-minded" (I,542)
> "the crude dream of their religion" (I,536)
> "half-rational children in religion" (II,44)
> "depraved Arab wretches" (II,327)
> "malevolent people...impure sinister conditions" (II,346)

There is the usual view of Arabia as a dead space:

> "a dead land" (I,56,282)
> "the whole world's sepulchre" (I,126)
> "The Semitic East is a land of sepulchres" (I,169)

As noted, the archaic style of *Arabia Deserta* prevented its early publication. In fact it was only the efforts of Lawrence which saved it from total obscurity. *Arabia Deserta*, however, came to be recognized as one of the classic books of travel in Arabia and its influence was particularly great on Lawrence. In the introduction he wrote for Doughty's work, Lawrence referred to *Arabia Deserta* as a "bible" and Doughty became a personal inspiration to Lawrence; the latter often wrote to him for advice and took his warnings on the danger of Arabian travel as a personal challenge.

E.M. Forster and Robert Graves both see Doughty as a major influence on Lawrence's style, although Meyers claims that the stylistic influence was less important than Doughty's moral character:

> The most impressive aspect of *Arabia Deserta* and *Seven Pillars* is the spiritual quest of the author-hero, who,like his biblical predecessors, seeks enlightenment amidst the awesome intensity of a merciless and destructive element. Doughty had the appearance and character of an Old Testament patriarch, and he continually makes reference to biblical parallels...so that the biblical influence on *Seven Pillars* is intensified and reinforced by Doughty's book... The powerful sense in *Seven Pillars* of a search for spiritual self-redemption evolves not only from Lawrence's study of the Crusaders and his interest in medieval romance from Malory to Morris, but also from the model of Doughty's Mosaic wanderings and fierce ordeals. In Doughty's desolate wasteland, as in Lawrence's, the physical forces of a hostile world combine with the hostile strains of an isolated hero to force him to the limits of human endurance...
>
> For both Doughty and Lawrence the essential characteristic of Arabia is its elemental rage, and both men insist on measuring themselves against the pitiless Arab standard of endurance... Doughty provided a human model, a personal inspiration and a

literary example...(Meyers 1973:80-81)

Doughty was not only an inspiration for Lawrence; he stands as an exemplary figure for the theme of martyrdom which characterizes a particular moment of the discourse.

Leachman

Whereas the famous nineteenth century travellers were often wealthy aristocrats who could afford to indulgence their Arabian fantasies, the twentieth century saw a romanticization of military travellers. Lieutenant-Colonel G.E. Leachman is unusual among travellers because he did not write of his experiences in Arabia. Leachman worked as an Intelligence Officer whose mission was to establish contact with the Bedouin tribes, conduct mapping operations and establish new routes of travel.

Leachman is described by his biographer, Major N.N.E. Bray, in the latter's *A Paladin Of Arabia* (1936), as a "sportsman, explorer, leader of men, demi-god amongst the great Bedouin tribes" (in Nasir 1976:121). Bray promotes Leachman as an unrecognized hero of Arabia, a "gallant spirit" whose life was "sacrificed" to Arab treachery when he was shot in the back during the Iraqi uprising of 1920 (Bray 1936:410,417). Brent feels that Leachman's accomplishments were equal to those of Lawrence in preventing desert tribes from attacking the British advance in Mesopotamia during World War I, but that he goes unrecognized because he did not covet publicity in the way in which Lawrence did. Brent also notes Leachman's strong sense of competition with the Bedouin and his belief that it was necessary for British prestige to out-do them. In this sense, Leachman becomes (for Brent) exemplary of a new phase in Arabian travel: whereas formerly it was the Bedouin who were romanticized it was now the travellers who became heros and public adulation was:

> ...offered with the greatest fervour precisely because they were Europeans who had beaten the beduin at his own game. There needed to be no reservation in applauding their exploits, their courage, their characters, since these carried no implicit criticism of western values...These men could stand, not merely as heroes of the Arabian myth, but also as exemplars of European supremacy. (Brent 1977:177-178)

Certainly the promotion of British heroes of the desert would have been useful to the war effort in the Middle East. However, I believe Brent to have overstated the division within the discourse at this point. While popular British heroes of Arabia certainly gained prominence during this period and the Bedouin themselves seem to have been downplayed, a precedent already existed. For example, Burton was a romantic hero of his time, a notorious figure of scandal whose name was permanently linked with Arabia; both he and Doughty made plain their views of British superiority.

I will modify Brent's idea somewhat by stating that a new element of discourse did arise: the British hero as martyr. Again, there are precedents, as in the figure of Doughty, but here I also wish to consider activities from another field of presence. The great nineteenth century martyr was General Gordon, or 'Chinese' Gordon, to give him his popular contemporary name with its implications of mastery over the exotic, an old Eastern 'hand'. Although not directly connected with Arabia, Gordon's fame and the fact that he so completely typifies the figure of the martyred imperial hero justifies some comment.

Gordon

Strachey's famous essay on Gordron (1929) perhaps expresses the latter's character most succinctly. With its apocalyptic title, suggesting a death more significant than a life, Strachey's portrait begins with Gordon in Jerusalem in 1883, Bible tucked beneath his arm searching for the authentic location of the Garden of Eden. Not only does this recall that impulse, shared by many of the Arabian travellers, to reify textual topography, but this image suggests the fundamentally religious aura of Gordon; the religious nature of his death would not have been missed by its Victorian audience. Gordon's importance as an iconographic signifier becomes clear in Strachey's description the former's activities in China, 1863, leading an army against the Taiping rebels:

> The Ever-Victorious Army, recruited from the riff-raff of Shanghai, was an ill-disciplined, ill-organized body of about three thousand men, constantly on the verge of mutiny, supporting itself on plunder, and at the slightest provocation, melting into thin air. Gordon, by sheer force of character, established over this incoherent mass of ruffians an extraordinary ascendency...

> There were some terrible scenes, in which the General, alone, faced the whole furious army and quelled it: scenes of rage, desperation, towering courage, and summary execution. Eventually he attained an almost magical prestige. Walking at the head of his troops, with nothing but a light cane in his hand, he seemed to pass through every danger with the scatheless equanimity of a demi-god. The Taipings themselves were awed into a strange reverence. (Strachey 1929:215-216)

So, too, was the British public. As later with Leachman and Lawrence (and with Lord Jim), here was a great white god leading the inferior races, able to command a foreign army through the power of his own will. Gordon became a popular hero and an ideological tool; patriotism was served and through a shared 'Britishness'(not only nationalism, but religion and race were operative), the public could vicariously participate in Gordon's personal triumph.

Of course, there was a mystery: the Chinese governor, Li Hung Chang, wondered:

> Can it be that he has, or has had, some great trouble in his life, and that he fights recklessly to forget it, or that Death has no terrors for him? (ibid.:216)

Here is the Romantic Hero, driven by some flaw or past tragedy to wander. Gordon shares with Lawrence and Lord Jim a Great Shame: at the capture of Soo-chow, the Taipings surrendered on condition that their lives be spared; Gordon made a special pledge of honour but Li Hung Chang promptly had the prisoners executed. Gordon resigned and only reluctantly resumed command. Internally tortured, outwardly triumphant: the paradigm of the great white god.

Gordon's return to Britain was a cause of great celebration. He was viewed as a "quasi-miracle working knight errant...a re-incarnation of St. George" (Marlowe 1969:8), but, like Lawrence, he sought anonymity and took up an unglamorous project building forts on the Thames. Also like Lawrence, Gordon disliked women, although he had a special fondness for young boys (Strachey 1929:216). Deeply religious, Gordon felt that the Bible was a repository of personal messages to him from a supernatural being. Fatalistic, scorning the body, Gordon refrained from monasticism, for it seemed the will of his god that he follow his desires.

The slaughter of Colonel Hicks and ten thousand Egyptian troops by the Mahdi in Sudan, 1883, caused a huge public reaction in Britain. Gordon was suddenly cast into the public eye again when he was chosen to take command at Khartoum and arrange the British retreat, a plan directly opposed to his own intentions. Strachey suggests that the pro-expansionist factions of government, led by Lords Harrington and Wolseley, did not want to evacuate Sudan and that they purposely chose Gordon, knowing he would not retreat, thus necessitating a drive into Sudan to rescue him and ensuring that there would be no possibility of a withdrawl from Egypt; Blunt supports this view (Strachey 1929:243-252;Longford 1979:209).

Gordon arrived in Khartoum intending to defeat the Mahdi, but the latter surrounded the city and made Gordon a virtual prisoner. In Britain there were public meetings, prayers, and petitions to save Gordon, but the troops arrived three days too late. Gordon had died heroically, dressed in his gleaming white ceremonial uniform, outnumbered by 'savage Moslems' who cut off his head and hung it in a tree.

The whole of Britain mourned. Gordon's admirers and the jingo press whipped popular sentiment into a frenzy, turning Khartoum into:

> ...a contemporary Passion Play...[Gordon] became a legend and a cult - a Christian martyr and the beau ideal of a British soldier and administrator...he became, in the England of the 1880's, a popular saint, worshipped by a cult and commemorated by a growing legend...The cult was served and the legend nourished by a spate of publications. Carefully edited extracts from Gordon's voluminous correspondence, mostly consisting of religious speculations and meditations, found a ready market, as did reminiscences of Gordon by those who had known him, accounts of Gordon's career, published sermons about Gordon, poems about Gordon, fiction based on Gordon, and boys' adventure stories with Gordon as the hero. The tone of virtually everything that was published was one of uncritical admiration. Every recorded saying was a pearl of wisdom. Every recorded action was characterised by bravery, purity, or unselfishness. (Marlowe 1969:7-8)

Palmer

Gordon's martyrdom followed closely that of Edward Henry Palmer, Professor of Arabic at Cambridge. Palmer, like Gordon, was interested in the relation of biblical history and geography; in 1868, he led the British Ordinance Survey Expedition, which was ostensibly organized to identify the location of Mt. Sinai and possible routes of the Exodus into Egypt. Palmer (1871:I,269) explicitly stated his belief that the scientific results of the study would be less important than the extent to which his endeavours would prove the truth of Scripture. However, the real purpose of the expedition was military. Sponsored by the British Army, its aim was to survey the area of intersection of the British and Ottoman Empires. Palmer's maps were later to be useful in the First World War.

Palmer had none of the Blunts' romantic attachment to the Bedouin. Echoing Burton, he saw them as a nuisance which eventually would have to be eliminated. For Palmer, the Bedouin:

> ...brings with him ruin, violence, and neglect. To call him a "son of the desert" is a misnomer; half the desert owes its existence to him, and many a fertile plain from which he has driven its useful and industrious inhabitants becomes in his hands a parched and barren wilderness...
>
> I do not advocate a war of extermination against the Bedawin, because I do not think it policy to destroy so much muscle which might be made serviceable to the community, and I have still, even in the days of mitrailleuses, some old-fashioned notions about the sacredness of human life, but I would put an end to their existence qua Bedawin... If the military authorities were to make systematic expeditions against these tribes, and take away from them every camel and sheep which they possess, they would no longer be able to roam over the deserts, but would be compelled to settle down to agricultural pursuits or starve. The superior advantages which the peaceful agriculturalist would then possess over them would curb their unreasonable pride, and the necessity for keeping pace with him, if they wished to live at all, would bring out the resources of their undoubtedly keen intellects. They might thus be tamed and turned into useful members of the community. Such a plan would probably entail some hardships and injustices at first, but a virulent disease requires a strong remedy, and we

> must not wince at the application of the cautery to cure the plague. (ibid.:II, 297-2988)

Just as Kinglake and Lowth had advocated the British take-over of Egypt and Mabel Bent had suggested the seizure of Dhofar, Palmer advises on the course of British control of the Bedouin; thus imperial power is always inscribed in the discourse of travel.

In 1881 Palmer returned to the Sinai, again under the pretext of an innocent geographical mission, and with the real purpose of preventing Bedouin support for the rebellion against British rule in Egypt by impeding the British Expeditionary Force or threatening the Suez Canal. Palmer was joined by Lieutenant Harold Charrington of the Royal Navy and Captain William John Gill of the Royal Engineers. The latter had a reputation as a great explorer of Central Asia and had received the Gold Medal from both the London and Paris Geographical Societies. The Palmer expedition carried twenty thousand British pounds in gold to persuade the Bedouin not to interfere and, if possible, to buy their support; an additional aim was to cut telegraph wires. However, the group was murdered before it could accomplish its mission.

Haynes

A search party for the Palmer expedition was organized under the direction of the Earl of Northbrook, First Lord of the Admiralty, and led by Sir Charles Warren, whose notes form an appendix to the written account of the search party, *Man-Hunting In The Desert* (1894), by Alfred Haynes. Unsurprisingly, Haynes notes Arab treachery (Haynes 1894:7-8), but the tone is less vengeful that one might expect and although Haynes notes that robbery of travellers by Bedouin is frequent, he admits that murder is rare and sees the Bedouin as "a gentleman at heart" (ibid.:143). The *fellahin*, however, are described as being completely untrustworthy (ibid.:60-61) and Syrian town-dwellers are seen as being the most hostile to Europeans (Ibid.:47). The Egyptian rebellion, supported by "unworthy" town Arabs, is portrayed as "essentially a nationalist movement deriving its spirit from racial and fanatical prejudices" (ibid.:60).

Haynes portrayed the Bedouin as less fanatical than the townspeople but suspected that the latter could influence them; he also suggested that the shaykhs were less likely to be influenced by this 'fanaticism' than common Bedouin. The search party itself employed several Bedouin, of whom Haynes notes, "as such need no description to English readers", a remark which indicates how common knowledge of the Bedouin had become. Haynes finds them unsatisfactory as guides but notes that their own laws of retribution allow them to understand the motives of the search party. Haynes also advises on the best means of 'handling' Bedouin, turning to Stanhope for advice.

Along with many other travellers, including Palmer, Haynes finds the desert "perfectly adapted to illustrate the Biblical story of the Exodus" (ibid.:188). We may also trace that nervure of discourse which exists as spiritual quest: arrival at the convent of Mt. Sinai stirs the party "as if we were reaching the end of a pilgrimage and arriving at the long-looked-for shrine" (ibid.:193). However, in a remark which is very like Kinglake's on contemporary Greek religion in its contempt for the lower classes and its aggression against other 'interests' in the East, Haynes sneers:

> The sights are such as may tickle the sanctity of the Russian peasant - the class which mainly furnishes the pilgrims who visit the convent - but are not worthy of the place or its associations. (ibid.:195)

Haynes devotes an entire chapter to a comparison of the Bible to his own observations in an attempt to fix the controversial location of Mt. Sinai, also taking into account Burton's remarks on the subject. Burton, who had worked with Palmer on archaeological expeditions in Syria, was sent to assist in the search but his services were not required.

The bones of Palmer, Charrington, and Gill were recovered and buried in St. Paul's Cathedral, all three being recognized as national heroes. The "whole world talked of the murdered scholar" (ibid.:xiii) and a debate in the House of Commons followed the acussation that Warren had used torture to extract confessions from those hung for the killings. Haynes denies the charge of torture and also that the Palmer party had been on a sabotage mission and had been killed by a national resistance movement; in spite of the fact that Haynes himself discusses the undercover nature of the Palmer expedition and the supply of dynamite they carried, he rejects the idea of sabotage on the grounds that it fosters fanaticism and weakens the position of the British Government. Haynes' support for British imperialism in the Middle East is clear in his dismissal of the charges of sabotage as:

> ...blatant rubbish, which could only find a footing in minds saturated with the belief that in rebellion a people finds its most fitting attitude, and that the overturning of constituted authority is everywhere a desirable consumation. (ibid.:270)

Shakespear

I have noted above the 'sacrifice' of the 'demi-god' Leachman. The latter was in contact with another military officer who was to become a desert martyr, Captain William Henry Irving Shakespear. Given the long fascination of English literature with Arabia, it seems curiously appropriate that the discourse should include in its list of desert martyrs a descendent of England's most famous author.

Shakespear's biographer extols his virtues in much the same way as Bray did for Leachman, describing him as "a cavalier of the desert" (Winstone 1976:25). Shakespear was born into a family tradition of colonial administration and his father had married into a wealthy colonial land-owning family. As was the case with Leachmnan, Shakespear did not write of his experiences in Arabia, but he showed the same jealousy about his travels which is evident in Burton, Pelley, Philby, and Stark. He was very jealous of Leachman's activities and saw him as a potential threat to his own proposed journey to Central Arabia. Although Shakespear always carried a copy of Palgrave's *Personal Narrative* with him and compared his own observations to those of his predecessor, it seems that his girl-friend, Dorothea Baird, had read more books on Arabian travel than he had. Her reading of Doughty was an intense religious experience and Baird continually urged Shakespear to read more about the desert and gave him many books. Apparently they had an effect; she "lost him to the desert" when he decided he could not continue both his relationship with her and his activities in Arabia (Winstone 1976:114-115;Brent 1977:188-189).

Shakespear was:

> ...the prototype man of Empire, convinced that his country ruled much of the world by a conspiracy of natural aptitude and divine ordinance. (Winstone 1976:107)

Shakespear advocated support for anti-Turkish elements in Arabia, contrary to the predominant official opinion which advised propping up the crumbling Ottoman Empire. In 1911, Shakespear met Ibn Saud at Ellamimiya and became one of his staunchest supporters. Brent (1977:187-194) suggests that the course of Britain's history in Arabia and the Middle East might have been radically different if Shakespear had not been killed in a battle between Ibn Rashid's forces and those of Ibn Saud.

Cheesman, another military officer who worked in Arabia, has described Shakespear's death in terms which demonstrate that no matter how brave the Bedouin were supposed to be, the bravery of a British officer would always surpass them. Attacked by Ibn Rashid's troops, Ibn Saud's Bedouin retreated but Shakespear:

> ...refused to fly with them before the onrush of the victorious camel-riders of the Amir of Hail, and simply saying "Englishmen do not run away," faced the charge, wounded, deserted and alone, whilst his erstwhile companions in arms disappeared over the horizon. (Cheesman 1926:211)

Forder

Martyrdom and betrayal are constant themes of the period. Forder, taken prisoner by the Turks in Damascus for missionary work and possible espionage activities spent twenty-seven months *In Brigands' Hands And Turkish Prisons* (n.d.). Although Forder denied the espionage charges, he was able to supply Allenby with much useful information when the latter's forces occupied Damascus. Not surprisingly for a missionary, Forder discusses the Middle East largely in terms of biblical history. He finds that biblical descriptions apply to contemporary Arab life and that the events of this life fulfil biblical prophecy. There is little romanticization of the Bedouin, who are described as mainly hostile, although occasionally hospitable, desert robbers with a "wild, roving, ferocious, and almost untameable nature"; these "half-naked...bloodthirsty Arabs" are generally a "desperate lot of cut-throats" (Forder n.d.:105,134,153).

Gilbert

Briefly turning to an adjacent field of discourse, we find that, as might be expected, war memoirs connected with the Middle East also embody this theme of martyrdom. One in particular has significance here since it explicitly states ideas which are also present in the discourse of desert travel.

Major Vivian Gilbert's *The Romance Of The Last Crusade* (1929) recounts Allenby's capture of Jerusalem. The title itself places the First World War in a context of a long historical involvement of Britain with the Middle East. Gilbert begins his text with with Brian Gurnsay, Oxford undergraduate, reading a book on the Crusades; the heroic knight of the story, Sir Brian de Gurnay, heads off to "wrest the Holy Places from the Infidel", and the modern Brian, suitably inspired, prays that he will be able to join a final Crusade, in the course of which he would "willingly leave [his] bones in the Holy Land" (Gilbert 1929:5). (Interestingly, this modern knight-errant dreams not of victory but of sacrifice; Daniel (1975:38) points out that the urge to martyrdom is implicit in the Crusading spirit.)

Fortunately, a Crusade appears, announced by the *Daily Telegraph*, and Brian experiences a medieval-oriented, mystical-patriotic spasm of ecstasy as the inherited blood of his Crusading ancestor surges within him. Major Gilbert himself feels these same urges and we soon find him following in the steps of Richard I to Jerusalem. The action heats up to the point where "our men were actually dying on the spot where Christ appeared to His disciples after the Crucifixion" (ibid.:130). This carnage leads the Major to doubt the chivalry of warfare and the romance seems to wear a little thin when his working-class batman, for whom the Major feels affection "such as a master feels for his favorite sporting dog", has both legs blown off (ibid.:207). Just before the final attack, however, the flare of a match illuminates a soldier who appears as "some armoured knight of old" (ibid.:135); reinspired, the Major goes on to see biblical prophecy fulfilled in the capture of Jerusalem.

Lawrence

Paradoxically, the greatest martyr of the British travel discourse did not die in Arabia. In T.E. Lawrence, the long Passion of Doughty's suffering in Arabia was continued to a full psychic crucifixion.

Lawrence was the illegitimate son of Thomas Chapman, heir to an Irish baronetcy, and the family governess, Sarah Madden. Aldington views Lawrence's knowledge of the circumstances of his birth as the key to his subsequent career; certainly the intensely religious nature of Lawrence's upbringing may have instilled in him a strong sense of guilt (Aldington 1955:23-25; Knightley and Simpson

1971:28-29).

In his early years, Lawrence developed antiquarian and archaeological interests and became devoted to the study of medieval armour, costume, heraldry, and literature. At Oxford, he wrote his thesis on Crusader castles in Syria after a trip to the Middle East. It was also at Oxford that he came under the influence of D.G. Hogarth, Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum. Hogarth was a fervent imperialist, associated with a semi-secret group known as the Round Table, which had grown out of Lord Milner's Kindergarten, a group of Oxford graduates who had worked in South Africa to strengthen British control there and whose aim was a world-wide British Empire. Composed of individuals in positions of great behind-the-scenes power and capable of exerting great influence on British politics, they formed "an unofficial committee for running, or helping to run, the destinies of the British Empire" (Nimrocks 1970:51). Associated with this secret elite was John Buchan, novelist, propagandist, and Governor-General of Canada from 1935-1940. In his novels and essays, Buchan espoused the ideals of Round Table imperialism; his fictional heroes bear a resemblance to many of the travellers discussed here: elite empire-builders, spartan, living away from cities, able to disguise themselves wherever they travelled and mix undetected with native populations. Buchan's heroes all show a "curious blurring of sexual lines" and periodically undergo a sort of spiritual lassitude, a "death-wish" which is only overcome by divesting themselves of the taint of urbanism; they can only return to normal life after immersion in a harsh physical environment and the thrill of "the chase" (Himmelfarb 1968:250-253). Buchan was a great admirer of Lawrence, whom he would have followed "over the edge of the world" (Weintraub 1963:50-51). One of Buchan's heroes was modelled on Aubrey Herbert, who accompanied Lawrence to Kut-al-Amara in Mesopotamia in 1916 in an attempt to bribe the Turkish forces who had beseiged British forces there; Buchan's novel *Greenmantle* (1916) deals with Lawrence's adventures in Mesopotamia at that time (Meyers 1973:18).

Hogarth used his position as an archaeologist to obtain information in the Middle East on political and military developments, with regard to both the Arabs and other European powers. It was from Hogarth that Lawrence received many of his political beliefs and motivations. At Hogarth's house, Lawrence was introduced to the imperialist preoccupations of the Round Table and in sessions hosted by Hogarth where great battles of the past were recreated, Lawrence developed a spiritual attachment to the Crusades:

> The semi-religious aura of Richard Coeur de Lion, Saladin, and...the mystical and poetic conception of the Order of Knighthood, became something in which he could immerse himself and with which he eventually identified himself completely. He was to be a Knight, a crusading Knight, fighting for good against evil, searching for his own personal Sangrail, and in life he began to strive to be the epitome of Knighthood, clean, strong, just and completely chaste...For Lawrence [the British] empire became almost a spiritual concept, a divine order in which Britain was destined to extend her

> law, her culture, and her protection to the lesser nations of the world, in the process of which the knights of the period would play a major part. (Knightley and Simpson 1971:42)

Lawrence's emphasis on chastity in relation to chivalry is associated with a trend in the medieval revival which arose around 1850. Lawrence was never interested in women and it is assumed that he was homosexual or asexual. Homosexuality does not seem to have played a large part in the medieval revival (although it was legitimated in some degree by the Greek revival); however in the New Chivalry of the 1890's there was a greater orientation towards males. For example, in 1894, Charles Kains-Jackson published an article entitled *The New Chivalry* in a homoerotic magazine, *The Artist and Journal of Home Culture*, which praised the mixture of chivalry with masculine ideals and the joys of outdoor camping; this cost Kains-Jackson his job as editor. By 1918, however, poems such as Edwin Emmanual Bradford's *The New Chivalry* could advocate love between a knight and his squire as preferable to that for women without arousing much comment. Fussell (1975) discusses the theme of homosexual warriors in the poetry of World War I.

Just as Hogarth's archaeological excavations frequently were located near sites of political or military importance, Lawrence's archaeological expeditions had political motives. The Carcemish site, long abandoned, was reopened when the Germans began work on a railway nearby. Under the pretext of the Palestine Exploration Fund, which had also sponsored Palmer, Lawrence and Leonard Woolley mapped the

Beersheba-Akaba area for Lord Kitchener. Turkish complaints over their activities led to the publication of an archaeological document intended to dispel suspicion.

In 1914, Lawrence went to work for Military Intelligence in Cairo, where he ran a spy network. In 1916, the Arab Bureau used Lawrence to contact Arab nationalists, extending a promise of aid towards Arab independence in return for support against the Turks. Lawrence acted as a contact with Emir Feisal, son of the Sherif of Mecca, and his mission was to direct the Arab Revolt so that it ran according to British interests.

The Arab Revolt served to divert a substantial number of Turkish troops, end German propaganda in Arabia, and protect British forces in Palestine. The importance of Lawrence's role, however, has been open to question. Tarver (1978) has minimized it and many feel that the role of Shakespear and other military officers was equally important. Winstone (1976:216) credits Shakespear for originating the idea of the Revolt and Philby maintains that it would have had an entirely different course if British policy had been more far-sighted and had supported Ibn Saud rather than Husayn. Certainly, Lawrence felt his own situation to be ambiguous. He knew that his promises to the Arabs would not be kept in the same degree in which they had been made and he was later to experience a crisis of conscience about his activities in Arabia.

Nevertheless, his actions among the Arabs were always conducted according to British interests. When Lawrence and the Arab Bureau criticized the Sykes-Picot Agreement, for example, it was not because the document cheated the Arabs but because it gave too much power in Syria to the French. Lawrence's later support for the Zionist cause also reflects his desire to minimize French influence in the Middle East. Although, as noted above, Palestine had definitely been included in the promised area of Arab independence, the British claimed that this was never the case and pushed for the establishment of a British-controlled Zionist homeland in order to deflect French influence. This was also the motive behind Lawrence's attempts to secure the Syrian throne for Feisal. Evicted by the French, Feisal was then installed on the throne of Iraq after the British kidnapped the opposition leader. Lawrence also attempted to curtail French power in the Middle East by securing the leadership of Trans-Jordan for Feisal's brother Abdallah, who was also to act as a British puppet. Lawrence considered that these actions satisfied Arab demands for independence.

Although his role in the war had not been large, Lawrence was elevated to the status of a cult figure. This adulation still exists; when I visited London's Imperial War Museum in 1982, Lawrence's Arab costume was on display as if it were a shrine and crowds of school-children milled about, shouting his name. Much of Lawrence's status is due to the efforts of Lowell Thomas, a journalist who had been sent to the Middle East to drum up American support for particpation in an unglamorous trench war. Thomas' book, *With Lawrence In Arabia* (n.d.) is dedicated to eighteen anonymous Chicago financiers and Thomas was given special permission by Colonel John Buchan to visit Palestine at a time when it was closed to all other journalists. Thomas' narrative is similar in tone to Gilbert's *Romance Of The Last Crusade*, with Allenby appearing as a "modern Coeur de Lion" (Thomas n.d.: vi); Lawrence and Allenby are compared to Ulysses and King Arthur and, as in Gilbert's narrative, the capture of Palestine serves cultural memory and desire by realizing "the dream of centuries" (ibid.:17). Thomas transformed Lawrence into the greatest hero of World War I:

> [Lawrence is] the modern Arabian Knight. (ibid.:317) ...every inch a king or perhaps a caliph in disguise who stepped out of the pages of *The Arabian Nights*...in whose veins flow viking blood and the cool traditions of fjords and sagas...He shook hands shyly and with a certain air of aloofness, as if his mind were on buried treasure and not on the immediate world...(ibid.:16-17)

Lawrence is depicted as a scholar, reading Aristophanes while leading his troops, and a king-maker, winning the Arab Revolt single-handedly, for on his raids "he took the Bedouin along merely for company and to help carry off the loot" (ibid.:119). Thomas also offers a romantic view of the Bedouin:

> The Bedouin is of a pure breed, and to-day lives in much the same manner as he did three thousand years ago, when Abraham and Lot were wandering patriarchs. The townsman, a mixture of all the races in the East, has many a bar sinister in his racial ancestry. The nomad is a sportsman, a lover of personal liberty, and a natural poet. The villager

> is often indolent, dirty, untrustworthy, and entirely mercenary. (ibid.:159)

By invitation from the King of England, Thomas brought his lecture, *With Allenby In Palestine and The Conquest Of Holy Arabia* (soon retitled to give Lawrence a prominent role) to the Covent Garden Opera House in 1919. The lectures proved a huge success at all levels of society and soon had to be moved to the Albert Hall to accomodate the crowds. King George V requested a private show and the series was endorsed by Lloyd George, John Buchan, Major Astor, and Lords Riddell, Northcliffe, and Burnham. The opening was extravagant; Thomas borrowed the opera set from the "Moonlight on the Nile" scene of *Joseph And His Brethern*, an Irish tenor sang the Muslim call to prayer, and the Welsh Guards provided atmospheric music, including the *Dance of the Seven Veils*. The series was completely sold out for six months and Thomas' book sold two hundred thousand copies. Numerous biographies of Lawrence followed and he soon appeared "on cigarette cards among a series devoted to war heroes" (Payne 1966:188).

In his own biography of Lawrence, Payne carries Thomas' adulation to new heights. After comparing Lawrence to Hamlet, Payne states:

> He seemed to possess to an extraordinary degree the medieval virtues of charity, chastity, and wild courage in the service of his ideal. He had the medieval temper, half monk, half soldier, and we shall not begin to understand him until we see him in the fierce, slanting light of the twelfth century in the age of the embattled Crusaders. (ibid.:16)

Payne claims to see Lawrence's androgynous face in medieval statues and depicts him reading Malory in the desert, surrounded by "the treachery of...a raging crowd of Arabs, ruling them by his example". Lawrence "learned to think like an Arab" and became one of their number but always maintained his superiority and "his ascendancy over the Arabs [as the] prime mover of the revolt" (ibid.:17-20)

> [Lawrence was] the modern romantic hero in a medieval setting. (ibid.:188)
> [He was one of those] from another planet, shining with a light that was not of this world. They are the Terrible Avengers, who demand from men the utmost in the service of perfect freedom. (ibid.:250)

Lawrence's biographers thus extol his greatness in the same terms which have been constant throughout the discourse of travel, with references to the *Arabian Nights* and the romantic vision of Arabia, Classicism, medievalism, racial superiority, spiritual ascendancy; power is fully inscribed in these descriptions.

Lawrence's *Seven Pillars Of Wisdom* is probably the most outstanding text of the discourse. Meyers (1973:11) ranks it with *Remembrance Of Things Past*, *Ulysses*, and *The Magic Mountain*. Tabachnick (1976) compares it to *Moby Dick*, in terms of a romantic striving to accomplish an unattainable rebellion against the universe, with the will employed to force the body to overcome the pain of such a rebellion. Meyers also compares these two texts in terms of a continuous contrast of action and meditation and notes that Lawrence explicitly stated that both *Moby Dick* and *War And*

Peace served as models for his own work. Both the latter text and *Seven Pillars* are primitivist, nationalist epics:

> ...occuring in archaic, patriarchal, pastoral settings stressing seasonality, primacy of the sense, and battle scenes and alternating action with moral and philosophical digressions. (Meyers 1973:94)

In Meyers' view, Lawrence took from *War And Peace*:

> ...literary techniques and moral attitudes which he carefully studied and assimilated...Tolstoy's novel gave Lawrence a form that enabled him to shape his material, to place his characters in action against a complex political and geographical back-ground, and to see himself as a character performing an historical and imaginative role. (ibid.:102)

Meyers also notes the correspondence of specific scenes in both works.

Despite the importance of the above-mentioned literary models for *Seven Pillars*, it was from Nietzsche that Lawrence took his philosophical approach, emphasizing will and destiny, the acquisition of knowledge through pain, and the transformation by the will of self-knowledge into action, with a resulting self-deification:

> Lawrence's will toward divinity is habitually expressed in biblical language and manifested in a number of ways: in a saintly asceticism that virtually denies the body and uses self-immolation as a means of self-perception; in a quest for wisdom through excess; in granting oneself the right to exceptional actions. (ibid.:107)
> Lawrence, more than any other modern figure, represents an intellectual adoption and actual embodiment of Nietzsche's ideas. (ibid.:111)

Just as Burton and Doughty had risked their lives to make notes in the desert, Lawrence made the writing of *Seven Pillars* a compulsive experience, writing days and nights on end "until I was nearly blind and mad" in an attempt to make writing as intense experience as the Arab Revolt and to transform his suffering into art (ibid.:49). There was extensive rewriting of the manuscript and it went through four revisions before it was complete. Lawrence's views of the Arabs differed through these revisions and Feisal progressively was portrayed in a better light in order to help Lawrence realize his desires in Syria:

> Lawrence's literary portrayal of Feisal in *Seven Pillars*, as opposed to his private judgement, is a reflection of his early personal enthusiasm for the Emir, an aesthetic response to nobility and exoticism, and an expression of his political need to characterize the titular leader of the Arab Revolt as a powerful and heroic figure. (ibid.:59)

Not only does each successive version of the book move closer to an imaginary recreation of Lawrence's Arabian experience, but Lawrence's aesthetic preoccupations influence the style of the book and the actual composition of the sentences in a manner reminiscent of Doughty's absolute opposition to any proposed changes in his own text. Influenced by William Morris, a friend of the Blunts and a major figure in the medieval revival, Lawrence paid particular attention to the physical attributes of his book:

> Both Lawrence and the compositor altered and rearranged the word order in the sentences to make them fit the exigencies of line and page. Each page (except new chapters) has exactly thirty-seven lines, about two-thirds of the pages begin with a new paragraph, almost no paragraphs end less than halfway across the page and no words are divided at the end of a line. (ibid.:64)

Lawrence was passionately concerned with literary style. Just as the Blunts associated with Pound and Yeats, Lawrence entered the literary world. He was a frequent visitor to Thomas Hardy and became like a son to George Bernard Shaw and his wife. The Shaws had recently helped Apsley Cherry-Garrard prepare *The Worst Journey In The World* (1922), on the Scott expedition, and they offered the same assistance to Lawrence. Hardy also read the manuscript and advised on it, but it was Shaw who extensively altered the manuscript to the point where Lawrence claimed that scarcely a paragraph was left unchanged (Weintraub 1963:91,99). O'Donnell (1979:144-145), however, claims that Weintraub exaggerates Shaw's influence. In any case, it is significant that while making whatever changes he did to *Seven Pillars*, Shaw constantly referred to Doughty's *Arabia Deserta*. In addition to Hardy and Shaw, Lawrence also showed the manuscript to and received advice from Rudyard Kipling, E.M. Forster, Siegfried Sassoon, D.G. Hogarth, Gertrude Bell, and various military officers.

Seven Pillars is crammed with unacknowledged literary references, including Homer, Shakespeare, Swift, Joyce, Tennyson, and Eliot, to name but a few.

> In addition to his literary allusions, Lawrence also refers to a wide range of classical and historical figures, and these provide a continuous reference to European culture which contrasts with the illiterate Arab life. This cultural conflict emphasizes the political polarity of English and Arab and subtly suggests Lawrence's conflicting loyalties, a major theme of the book. (Meyers 1973:86-87)

Publication of an abridgement of *Seven Pillars*, *Revolt In The Desert* (1927), was a major event with much publicity and accompanying art exhibitions. An American firm offered a limited edition of *Seven Pillars* at twenty thousand dollars a copy. The incredible price was a publicity stunt for the publication of the American abridgement as well as an attempt to obtain copyright for the full text. The cost of printing *Seven Pillars* was fourteen thousand pounds and *Revolt In The Desert* was designed to meet these costs. Serialized in the *Daily Telegraph* in 1926-1927, *Revolt In The Desert* had sold thirty thousand copies in Britain within ninety days of publication and one hundred and twenty thousand copies in the United States.

The publication of a subscribers' edition of *Seven Pillars* was also an event and *The Times* soon carried advertisements offering twenty pounds for a loan of the book and up to four hundred pounds for a sale.

Seven Pillars has a complicated publishing history but essentially exists in three versions, the standard edition, *Revolt In The Desert*, and the rare Oxford text, eight copies of which were printed in 1922. Access to this original version implied special knowledge and favor. The book's title also contributes to *Seven Pillars*' existence as something other than a single work by a single author, for it refers to an earlier manuscript, destroyed by Lawrence, describing his visit to seven Arab cities.

O'Donnell points out the biblical reference in the title ("Wisdom hath set up her seven pillars" - Proverbs) and sees the book as a dialectic between reason and folly:

> Wisdom is the extinction of reason and will, pulling down the house upon the self. If folly is the assertion of the will, wisdom and truth are in its denial. (O'Donnell 1979:25)

As in *The Marriage Of Heaven And Hell*, excess leads to the palace of wisdom, but for Lawrence wisdom becomes nihilism and the subtitle *A Triumph* is an ironic reference to military victory achieved at the cost of personal and moral defeat:

> Thus the major rhythm of *Seven Pillars* is found in microcosm on its title page. The title symbolizes the private self, the subtitle the public self. The complex, introspective, preciously literary Lawrence is the direct anti-thesis of the direct, epic, military Lawrence...*Seven Pillars* fails to link the introspective to the epic, the unconscious self to the social self, the subjective to the objective, emotion and intellect to act...the complex private self identifies with the primitive Bedouin and the cyclical form of history he represents, while the man of action identifies with the civilized English and a progressive form of history (ibid.:26)

As is typical of the primitivistic genre, Lawrence uses the Bedouin to represent an ideal for which he strives and as a criticism of the moral values of Europe. But Lawrence himself contaminates that which he idealizes; he cannot conform to Bedouin values and ends by bringing the Bedouin into his own world.

Lawrence is the typical Romantic hero for whom the world is merely a reflection of the self. O'Donnell sees this reflection as the first stage of Lawrence's struggle with his will: in the first stage, its validity is unchallenged, but during an introspective second stage the will is questioned and decays; suffering the extremes of experience is an attempt to recapture and redefine the will but reintegration does not occur. Additionally, Lawrence realizes that his narcisssism in attempting to turn the Arab

Revolt into an epic of self involves a spiritual robbery; by following his will the Arabs invalidate their own and condemn him to a valueless exercise which can only end in moral failure (ibid.:80-83,95,157).

After his homosexual rape at Deraa, the object of will is transformed and Lawrence's objective is not to incorporate the world into the self, but to annihilate the latter. The rape at Deraa is likened by O'Donnell to the leap from the Patna in *Lord Jim*, which Lawrence read while writing *Seven Pillars*. Both Lawrence and Lord Jim are eventually cast into the role of redeemer/sacrifice because of egoistic excess (ibid.:158-159).

Many of the above themes are connected in *Seven Pillars* by the image of the machine. In the first part of the text, the machine is viewed as an intrusion upon the clean desert. For Lawrence, as for so many other travellers, the desert is a zone of purity and the oases are outposts of corruption. Lawrence spends much of his time blowing up trains, protecting the desert from the taint of outside influences. The British army, too, is conceived of as a machine, unlike the 'organic' Arab forces (this is similar to Burton's remarks on the Albanian cavalry). Lawrence's contrast of the Bedouin and the British emphasizes the distinction between individual and machine (ibid.:100). With Lawrence's desire to annihilate the self comes love of the machine (realized more completely in Lawrence's subsequent career when he joined the R.A.F. under an assumed name in order to lose himself in the machine). Lawrence becomes what had formerly horrified him:

> Lawrence himself becomes not only the perpetrator but the victim of Western imperialism. The machine is the image of the sadist becoming masochist for it is the instrument of power to which he humbles the self, or the individual will, but which acts out the domination of the mass will. (ibid.:104)

O'Donnell sees that for Lawrence the machine is the ultimate image of the will to power and that one who uses the will in this way eventually becomes like the machine. Whereas Philby and Thesiger rage against the machine, Lawrence gives up the Arabs for it. Whereas he had first joined the Bedouin, an exclusive male group able to conquer nature, a group into which he can both incorporate himself and control, Lawrence later joins the R.A.F., drowning himself in mechanical will.

Comparing Fromm's analysis of sadistic necrophilia derived from Marinetti's Futurist Manifesto to Lawrence, O'Donnell sees significant parallels: worship of the machine, war, speed, death, hatred of women:

> Lawrence implies that the machine is essentially masculine. The human male then, if fully male, has the qualities associated with the machine: he is cold, dead, aggressive, dominating, exploitative, implacable, relentless, inorganic, multiple, a thing of bits and pieces. (ibid.:177)

This approaches the center of the discourse: nearly all the travellers are male, travelling in male company. When a woman traveller does appear, she is either an anti-suffragette like Bell or dislikes other women, as does Stark. The discourse is thus infused with an ideology of male power, enacted against a biblical patriarchal landscape.

Homosexuality is a more pronounced theme in *Seven Pillars*:

> [Avoiding the] raddled meat of prostitutes our youths began indifferently to slake one another's few needs in their own clean bodies - a cold convenience that, by comparison, seemed sexless and even pure. Later, some began to justify this sterile process, and swore that friends quivering together in the yielding sand with intimate hot limbs in supreme embrace, found there hidden in the darkness a sensual co-efficient of the mental passion which was welding our souls and spirits in one flaming effort. (Lawrence 1935:30)

Lawrence combines homosexuality with masochism and finds in the Bedouin that which is most like himself: "a delight in pain, a cruelty which was more to [them] than goods. The desert Arab found no joy like the joy of voluntarily holding back" (ibid.:41). Tidrick (1981:182) finds "no discernible literary ancestor" for Lawrence's idea that the Arabs enjoyed pain as much as he did. However, Lawrence was certainly familiar with Doughty's epic of suffering and the spartan existence of the Bedouin had been commented on throughout the discourse; Lawrence merely merges the two.

Other themes are more apparently consistent; Lawrence's description of Jedda is strikingly similar to Kinglake's description of Belgrade:

> It was like a dead city, so clean underfoot and so quiet. Its winding, even streets were floored with damp sand solidified by time and as silent to the tread as any carpet. The lattices and wall-returns deadened any reverberation of voice...Everything was hushed, strained, even furtive...the rare people we

> did meet, all thin and as it were wasted by disease..
>
> The atmosphere was oppressive, deadly. There seemed no life in it. It was not burning hot, but held a moisture and sense of great age and exhaustion such as seemed to belong to no other place...(Lawrence 1935:72)

Familiar racial notions exist in Lawrence's observation of:

> ...the negroes, tom-tom playing themselves to red madness each night under the ridge. Their faces, being clearly different from our own, were tolerable, but it hurt that they should possess exact counterparts of all our bodies. (ibid.:171)

Similarly the Syrians are "an ape-like people" (ibid.:47), while the Turks are a "child-like people...the slowest of the races of Western Asia" (ibid.:55). Essentially, he is unimpressed by the Bedouin:

> They were a limited, narrow-minded people, whose inert intellects lay fallow in incurious resignation. (ibid.:38)

For Lawrence, as for Burton, to serve another race was an ultimate crime:

> Pray God that men reading the story will not, for love of the glamour of strangeness, go out to prostitute themselves and their talents in serving another race.
>
> A man who gives himself to be a possession of aliens leads a Yahoo life, having bartered his soul to a brute master. (ibid.:31)

As noted, Lawrence was much influenced by medievalism. In a less direct way, certain aspects of the Greek revival may be applied to him as well. Just as he read Malory at Khartoum, Lawrence carried Aristophanes through the desert and was later a translator of the *Odyssey*. Jenkyns (1980:146-154) describes the frequent metaphorical use of light in reference to the Greeks: not only was the bright climate equated with intellectual achievement, but also the whiteness of Greek statues functioned as a sign indicating purity, virginity, absence of passion, austerity and calm repose; their whiteness was invoked to acquit these statues of the charge of inviting lust. Their pure white forms were considered a blending of physical, intellectual, and spiritual superiority. Lawrence, in his chrisom of pure silk, combined these elements and his iconic function became that of a White Knight, an exemplar of racial superiority and a culmination of the Crusaders who had gone before him. In a certain sense, Lawrence is the retributive co-efficient of Gordon, that other valiant White Knight martyred at Khartoum; Lawrence can master Muslim treachery and turn Muslims into British servants. Lawrence was not simply an individual hero in whom the above attributes were simply intrinsic; rather he 'inherited' various aspects of discourse. In Lawrence, the tendrils of discourse are gathered, unified, personified, as the romantic aspects of Burton and Blunt are merged with the fierce morality and will to martyrdom of Doughty. Lawrence was scholar, aristocrat, martyr and in him the whispers of discourse found full voice: medievalism, romantic desert warfare, primitivism, racial superiority, masochism, homosexuality and male power, the triumph (as well as the defeat) of the individual will.

Tidrick describes Lawrence as "saturated" with earlier travellers. She sees Palgrave and Burton as the major influences on his work. But he also described *Arabia Deserta* as "a bible of its kind" (in Doughty 1928:xvii) and was Blunt's 'disciple'. The latter's notions of aristocracy held much appeal for Lawrence, whose illegitimacy denied him the social status his aristocratic background should have provided:

> When [Lawrence] began to think about promoting the Arab cause he thought about it in terms of a national revival led by aristocrats whose impeccable pedigree gave them a prestige which transcended tribal and regional loyalties; the nationalist principle was fused with the aristocratic principle in a manner in which Blunt would have completely approved. This conception was always at the heart of Lawrence's interest in the revolt [and his] enactment of chivalric fantasies. (Tidrick 1981:174-179)

It is not the case, however, that Lawrence simply met a need of the internal dynamic of discourse by supplying it with a fully tragic hero. Inscribed in the very form, as well as the content, of Lawrence's narrative, as with all the other texts described here, is a relation of power. It is either financial status or military position which allows the production of these texts and for all of them there exists a previous statement, unwritten but already-said, in the Barthesian sense, that these writers have the authority to speak on (or for) Arabia. In Lawrence this sense of authority is perhaps most explicit and is expressed in its most succinct form in the introductory poem which begins *Seven Pillars*:

> I loved you, so I drew these tides of men into my hands/
> and wrote my will across the sky in stars/
> To earn you Freedom, the seven pillared worthy house,/
> that your eyes might be shining for me/
> When we came. (Lawrence 1935:n.p.)

So we are returned to the question of individual/imperial will and power. Said's remarks on Burton are appropriate here:

> [Burton] is a European for whom such knowledge of Oriental society as he has is possible only for a European, with a European's self-awareness of society as a collection of rules and practices. In other words, to be a European in the Orient, and to be one knowledgeably, one must see and know the Orient as a domain ruled over by Europe. Orientalism, which is the system of European or Western knowledge about the Orient, thus becomes synonymous with European domination of the Orient, and this domination effectively overrules even the eccentricities of Burton's personal style. (Said 1978:197)

The will of the individual scholar (or in this case, the travel-writer) is diminished in the cumulative tendency of discourse which leads to a corporate identity embodied in a tradition of predecessors, public institutions, the internal demands of genre, and economic control (ibid.:202). Imperial power was the vehicle for personal power and it found a use for personal power, as in the glorification of Lawrence as a romantic hero. Lawrence as cult object not only served to encourage U.S. participation in World War I but had a post-war usefulness as well:

> This irresponsible panegyric was just what the [British] Government sorely needed to try to pass off its enormous expenditure and casualties in the Middle East and to gain popular support for its policy of "Brown Dominions" and trying "to diddle

France out of Syria". (Aldington 1955:286)

C. Nostalgia

Philby

Both Arab treachery and the mystical aspects of the discourse are apparent in H.St.J.B. Philby's self-introduction, as he remarks on Charles Huber:

> ...the greatest of all French explorers [who] perished at the hands of his Arab guides, in the service of science on 29th. July, 1884. It was surely no mere coincidence that I was born exactly nine months later on 3rd. April 1885, to assume in due course of time the mantle of the great Frenchman, whose spirit may have sought the hospitality of my mother's womb to be refashioned therein through a period of storm and stress perhaps unequalled in the Victorian age. The Mahdi was abroad in those days, sorely testing the prestige and strength of imperial Britain, and Gordon, game to the end, fell before my birth at the hands of the fanatics. (Philby 1948:3)

Philby continually spiritualizes his experiences in Arabia and his books are full of significant omens. Not only are we to see him as the reincaranation of Huber, but we note that he was born on Good Friday, "the exact anniversary of the Crucifixion" (ibid.:5); similarly, his conversion to Islam, a wise business move, as Monroe (1980) points out, "happened on the Prophet's birthday" (Philby 1948:280).

Born into a family of Ceylon landowners, Philby was educated at Westminster, which "more than any other public school, is woven into the fabric of Church and State"

(Monroe 1980:16). Spartan values were promoted at Westminster through beatings and cold baths. Philby became an autocrat at school, relishing any authority he could exercise and developing the beligerant personality which would hinder his career. After graduating from Cambridge, Philby joined the Civil Service in India in 1908. In 1915, he was sent to Mesopotamia, to influence tribes to protect the south-Persian oil-fields, run by a British company and which "provided the only British-controlled source of oil for the Navy" (ibid.:46). Philby was also to block German influence in the area. Although the predominant British attitude to Arabs in Mesopotamia was one of complacency and contempt, there was much inter-governmental discord over policy and administrative bodies often had conflicting views on the best way to maintain British power in the Middle East. This disorganized policy also manifested itself at the field level, in the form of insubordination and petty jealousies. Just as various administrative institutions attempted to impose their views, so many of the military officers and colonial administrators attempted to promote a personal vision of the Middle East, although this rarely implied a criticism of the British presence.

Philby, then Revenue Commissioner, was assigned to conduct research on Central Arabia. London and Cairo were both at this time promoting aid to Husayn while the India Office, apprehensive about his possible religious influence on India, pushed for support of Ibn Saud. Philby was sent to contact the latter, with the aim of diverting his attacks on Husayn to a war with Ibn Rashid. The latter presented little threat to the British but Sir Percy Cox, Chief Political Officer in Mesopotamia, wanted both to preserve Ibn Saud's pro-British sympathies and to divert him from attacking British-controlled shaykhdoms on the Persian Gulf. Philby was instantly drawn to Ibn Saud and suggested supplying him with money and guns. Allenby's advances in Palestine, however, made Ibn Saud's support largely unnecessary. Although the Arab Bureau welcomed Philby's information on Central Arabia, Ibn Saud was regarded as being irrelevant and the British aim was to keep him neutralized through small payments, arranged through Philby, which would encourage him to continue his conflict with Ibn Rashid. The essential point was to keep both Husayn and Ibn Saud dependent on Britain. Furthermore, the Arab Bureau regarded Ibn Saud as unmanageable and suggested that he not be provided with enough aid to capture Ibn Rashid's stronghold at Hail in order that a balance of power might be maintained in Central Arabia.

In 1917, however, Cox agreed with Philby's decision to support Ibn Saud, with a view to post-war developments in Arabia. Strengthening Ibn Saud would "certainly tend greatly to simplify our work in Irak and will automatically correct secret inconvenient pre-eminence which our policy has obliged us to accord to the Sheriff" (Silverfarb 1979:276). However, as noted, it was decided not to strengthen Ibn Saud to the point where he could capture Hail. In spite of the official decision Philby acted on his own initiative and offered Ibn Saud a large amount of money if he would attack Hail. Philby may have deliberately distorted his instructions from Cox because he envied Lawrence and felt that a successful action by Ibn Saud would advance his own career (ibid.:280). Ibn Saud took the money but, worried that an attack on Hail would expose him to danger from Husayn or the Ajman, a group of dissidents protected by the Shaykh of Kuwait, did not act until 1918. The War Cabinet reprimanded Philby, ordered him to dissuade Ibn Saud from further action, and cancelled a shipment of arms to the latter. As a result, British relations with Ibn Saud became strained and the mission, which had been intended to consolidate friendly ties with Ibn Saud while preserving the superiority of Husayn, achieved a contrary result through Philby's misrepresentation (ibid.:282).

After the war, Philby became critical of British policy in the Middle East. He was forced to leave Iraq for opposing the installation of Feisal as puppet-ruler but accepted a post in Trans-Jordan offered by the Middle East Department, which had been created in 1920 to co-ordinate the conflicting views on Middle East policy. Philby also realized that the British were in Iraq because of its oil-reserves, rather than for defence purposes as had officially been claimed, and in 1925 he began to write articles denouncing British policy, which earned him the dislike of the Foreign, Colonial, and India Offices. In 1925 Philby quit the British service and attempted to make his fortune in private commercial ventures. In 1923 he had visited Petra with Bertram Thomas, hoping to develop it into a tourist attraction and he later obtained the Ford franchise for Arabia and arranged the granting of oil concessions to the Standard Oil Company of America, a transaction which guaranteed his personal fortune.

Although unpopular with the British Government, Philby became famous for his travels in Arabia; the Royal Asiatic Society awarded him its Burton Medal and the Central Asian Society published his Burton Memorial Lecture. The Royal Geographical Society suggested that he go as their representative on a French archaeological expedition to the Sahara. As well, the relatives of Colonel Leachman approached him to write the latter's biography, which he did, employing Leachman's letters and diaries, attempting to let:

> ...the hero tell his own story, with a minimum of interference from the biographer. But *The Legend Of Lijman* (his Arabic name) was found by Leachman's relatives and admirers to be lacking in the element of romance on which they had set their hearts, and I consented readily enough to their suggestion that my material be remoulded by other and more flamboyant hands. The result was a work called *A Paladin Of Arabia* by Major N.N.E. Bray, who made the fatal mistake of comparing his hero with T.E. Lawrence to the denigration of the latter, and inevitably produced a volume of remarkable jejunity. (Philby 1948:266)

This ancedote suggests more than Philby's personality; it also suggests a hierarchy of fame and influence and points out the'incestuous' nature of discourse, the relationship between the figures and the works involved, and the exclusionary power of discourse. Just as the narrative of Sadleir, for example, has been overlooked because it lacks the explicitly 'literary' quality of the classic travel texts, in spite of Sadleir's accomplishments in travel, so was Philby's biography of Leachman rejected because it did not meet the romantic demands placed upon it.

Philby's disenchantment with British policy had not always been apparent. In 1922, after comparing an Arab shaykh to Rob Roy (Philby 1922:I,xvi) he writes of British altruism and his own activities as:

> ...the bearer to the Arabs of Wahhabiland of that great message of goodwill, which went forth in the dark days of the war to assure a race long ground down under the heel of the Ottoman Turks of the freedom that awaited it when the storm should be gone. In calling upon the Arabs to play their part in operations designed to achieve their liberation from Turkish tyranny we specifically disclaimed for ourselves and our Allies any ulterior motive of material profit or imperial ambition.
> (ibid.:I,xxiii)

The same text makes the familiar comparison of town and desert Arabs and finds a "superiority of Badu over townsmen" (ibid.:I,51). Similarly:

> ...the desert code of chivalry was in full force and passing strangers were liable to be treated as pawns in the noble game of raid and counter-raid.
> (ibid.:I,247)

Rivalry between Ibn Saud and Husayn had caused the latter to refuse permission for Ronald Storrs, Oriental Secretary of the Residency, to come from Riyadh to Taif, on the grounds that the journey was unsafe; Philby, hungry for desert adventure and anxious to promote a meeting between Ibn Saud and a representative of the British forces in Egypt, made the crossing in the opposite direction to collect Storrs and it was only the "unchivalrous determination" of Husayn which prevented the return journey (ibid.II,2).

In the hamlet of Qutain, the hospitality of Philby's host was "proverbial...full of chivalry" (ibid.:II,95). Ibn Saud possess "unfailing chivalry" and "the blood of chivalry courses more purely through the veins of the 'Anaza than of all Arabs besides" (ibid.:II,97). Philby maintains this medieval tone through his choice of words, although not to the same extent as Doughty; at Eve's tomb he sees a group of women which includes "a saucy wench...in return for my mite [they] vouchsafed me a glimpse of the venerable relic" (ibid.:I,231). There is also "a Jewish leech" (ibid.:I,350), various "yeomen" (ibid.:I,379), and assorted "churlish folk" (ibid.:I,333) to populate this feudal realm.

Racial purity occurs as one of Philby's preoccupations: the Quraish, living in the mountains near Taif, are seen to have little in common with the chivalrous nomads:

> ...with their coarse features, their wild hair and bridgeless noses, they seemed to be of some primitive savage race descending unregenerated by mixture with the higher types from the remotest antiquity. (ibid.:I,203)

One of Philby's party betrays "by his dark complexion the negro strain by which his pedigree was tainted" and shows himself to be the "epitome of empty-headed vanity and coarse sensuality" (ibid.:I,166), just as the "unattractive...negroid Amir" of Haman shows no hospitality (ibid.:II,157). Philby's remarks are readily (and revealingly) translated into British class terms: for example, when an unsatisfactory guide departs, Philby is relieved that he will no longer have to listen to his "nasal cockney accents" (ibid.II,253).

Philby clung to his idea of a chivalrous medieval Arabia and was not pleased with modern influences. In his *Forty Years In The Wilderness*, he embarks on a "self-imposed crusade against corruption in Saudi Arabia", attempting to stamp out "laxity, extravagance and corruption...laxity and back-sliding" and the "increasingly prevalent laxity, extravagance and corruption" which threaten desert austerity (Philby 1957:6-7,2). The desert was changing: "Its new-fangled denizens disgusted me with their extravagance and corruption" (ibid.:1). Philby detects this as the fault of those "recent recruits to the Sa'udi administration...who had never handled a sword" (ibid.:2) and who had been educated "in the gutters of the West" (ibid.:6). Such corruption might be acceptable in the West "except that it would have horrified the doughty warriors to whom, after all, the Sa'udi Arabian state owes its very existence" (ibid.:7). The identity of these "doughty warriors" should be apparent in the pun.

Modernization is not all bad, however; the oil company to which Philby owes his personal profits, for example, is portrayed as an entirely altruistic organization with little interest in producing or marketing oil, instead devoting itself to making improvements in Arabia which the Arabs are too corrupt or incompetent to do themselves. In becoming a propagandist for multinational oil companies, however, Philby is faced with the paradox of the new Arabian bourgeoisie; the "flood of vice and extravagance" has undermined "the old code of honour and morals" and the Arabs have forgotten their 'place':

> It is inevitable that the nouveau riche of the new Arabia should try to rise on the social scale on ladders of gold with the ready connivance of an ancient aristocracy [resulting in] evils of extravagance and ostentation, graft and corruption at all levels of society. (ibid.:57)

Philby is caught between his need for money and the old aristocratic code which labels involvement in commerce as unbecoming to a gentleman; hence his contradictory pronouncements on the modernization of Arabia. His desire to cling to the old Arabia is perhaps expressed most succinctly in a photograph taken in Jedda in 1954; Philby stands with Husaini al Khatib, the Egyptian Ambassador, and Amin al Mumayez, the Iraqi Minister, and is the only one wearing traditional Arab garb (ibid.:facing 49).

In *The Empty Quarter* (1933), Philby states that his life has been dominated for fifteen years by the desire to cross the Rub'al Khali. This obsession, inspired by Hogarth, is foiled by Bertram Thomas' precedence in the feat and Philby applies to him the same Arabic couplet which Burton had quoted in regard to Speke: "Twas I that learn'd him the archer's art/ At me, his hand grown strong, he launched his dart" (Philby 1933:xvii). Philby's desire is expressed in romantic-biblical terms:

> [Dressed in] the flowing robes of an Arab Shaikh [he is] a stranger within the gate, the envoy of a "hostile" camp, a voice crying in the wilderness - a new and unknown challenger in the breathless tourney of Arabian exploration. Yet none had crossed Arabia before me except one - Captain G.F. Sadlier [sic], my predecessor by a hundred years.
> (ibid.:xvii-xviii)

Philby continually formulates his Arabian experiences in biblical terms. In *The Heart Of Arabia* (1922), he endures the agonies of Job when he discovers he has no film to record his travels (Philby 1922:II,210). In *The Empty Quarter*, biblical and sexual imagery combine to make his crossing of the Rub'al Khali a mystical-erotic experience; omens occur throughout the journey, which is filled with references to legendary animals and lost cities. Like Lawrence, Philby has a masochistic streak and he determines to keep the fast of Ramadan even though a dispensation is allowed for travellers and he derides his Arab companions for indulging their appetites in the course of his mystic quest. Perhaps taking advice from Lawrence's *Twenty Seven Articles* (1917), a manual on 'handling' Arabs, which suggests that the British officer should adopt Arab costume and way of life and then surpass the Arabs in endurance in order to awe them, Philby determines to out-do the Arabs not only by strictly keeping the fast and going without water but also by proceeding to walk a good deal of the way; he only relents when one of his guides tearfully begs him to slow up the pace in order that he might save 'face'. Philby shows himself to be among the most disagreeable of travellers; the Arabs considered him hot-tempered and complained that he continually accused them of lying.

For Philby, just as for Lawrence, Doughty, Burton, or Kinglake, the desert is a furnace in which he tempers his will and the Arabs, whose only wish is to return home safely, encounter his wrath by attempting to take the easiest or fastest route. He scorns and insults them and soon the journey becomes a constant struggle between his "unalterable purpose" and their:

> ...innate national inertia...Step by step we had progressed ever away from their home fires but each step had been achieved only with the smallest margin as the momentum of a purposeful mind triumphed at each stage over the inert mass ever ready to recoil from any arduous objective. (ibid.:216)

The crossing is not only Philby's personal triumph but another instance of that paradigm personified by Lawrence, Gordon, Kurtz, and Lord Jim: a racial ascendancy and a triumph of the will and the Western intellect over the "inert" or "incoherent" mass which inhabits the ancient and decaying East. In Philby's text, this ascendancy is explicitly stated as a religious trial, just as it had been for Doughty, and the constant references to spiritual matters perhaps reach their apex in Philby's payment of thirty pieces of silver to his guides on the edge of the Rub'al Khali: "...little did I fathom the dark scheming of their treacherous minds as they marched with me into the unknown" (ibid.:239). Arguments erupt when Philby complains that the Bedouin do not march fast enough and under his harangue the "hysterical reply" comes that Philby is always "displeased and critical" (a reasonable assessment):

> Could one be anything but critical and on one's guard with companions who would readily have sacrificed the whole effort of our endeavour to their own miserable comfort? In such circumstances the Arab does not show himself to advantage. He clings frantically, desperately, to life, however miserable, and when that is at risk, loses heart and head. Greed of filthy lucre alone makes him pause from flight ...now it was the waterless desert, the fear of thirst and death, that made women of these men. I could not, would not yield. We had come one hundred and forty miles. A third of the journey was behind us and a steady effort would carry us through if only they would play the man. They were, of course, weak and disheartened with hunger for we had had nothing but dates since we had left Shanna. I was famished myself and could sympathize with their condition. I felt like Moses in the wilderness when the multitude clamoured against him, but I could produce neither water nor manna. (ibid.:261)

The "surly...mutinous" Bedouin point out that several camels have collapsed from thirst and exhaustion and even Philby admits that death seems "a very real possibility" but he continues to berate his companions and oppose a retreat. One Bedouin, "the devil incarnate", gives particular trouble and tension reaches a peak when the party's guide becomes lost and it is left to Philby to guide them out of the wilderness, which he does during the reappearance of a significant omen (ibid.:261-351).

Just before their emergence, a seemingly insignificant, but perhaps relevant scene occurs: Philby forsakes the fourth brewing of his tea leaves, giving these to the Arabs while he makes himself a drink from a desert plant; viewed with the fact that it is Philby who shows himself to be the ablest of desert guides and that it is he whom a group of Arab women admire upon the group's emergence from the desert, it is possible to suggest that a transposition has taken place: the Arabs, laden with their thirty pieces of silver, are corrupt in their concern for money and material comfort and must boil the exhausted produce of India, while Philby proves himself the true master of the desert. Similarly, in *Sheba's Daughters* (1939), which recounts in biblical/romantic terms Philby's attempt to retrace Sheba's journey to Solomon, Arab avarice is a main theme (Philby 1939:21, 40-41,87,106,108,110,111,113, 135,218,268,269,270).

Thomas

Philby's claim to be the first to have crossed the Rub'al Khali (Philby 1933:360) negates the earlier achievement of Bertram Thomas, a tendency shared to some degree by historians of desert travel in Arabia. Perhaps this is due to the fact that Thomas was "the least flamboyant of Arabian explorers" (Tidrick 1981:197).

Thomas took a more empirical approach than many of his predecessors, arriving armed with head calipers to garner anthropological information; it was a process neither he nor the Arabs enjoyed, with Thomas repelled by the dirty hair of the Arabs and the latter convinced they were being subjected to some sort of magical operation. In keeping with the preoccupations of earlier travellers, Thomas scorns as subjects those who are racially impure.

As did Philby, Thomas emphasizes the avarice of Arabs rather than their romantic character, although he does note their value of personal liberty (Thomas 1932:10,14,21,28). In general, he is insensitive to Arab life, photographing funerals, ridiculing the "wild Swahili gibberish" chanted during the ceremony, and claiming himself "sickened by the sight of the orgy" at an exorcism (ibid.:34-35). He is interested in anthropological facts but his attitude towards the Arabs seems rather similar to that towards the desert animals he is eagerly slaughtering for museum specimens; when a guide is bitten by a snake, for example, Thomas worries only that his hunting will be disrupted.

Sedentary mountain tribes are viewed as inferior to nomads (ibid.:94,103-104) and Thomas' departure from Dhofar is attended by "a crowd of black gollywog humanity" (ibid.:114). Racial issues appear to be Thomas' main concern; an appendix to his text by Sir Arthur Keith and Dr. Wilton Marion Krogman discuss the racial characteristics of Arabs, referring to the earlier conclusions of Burton.

Cheesman

The same mixture of racism and scientific endeavour is exhibited in the work of Major R.E. Cheesman, a military officer who had served in the Middle East during World War I and returned later to pursue a romantic urge for desert travel. Just as Philby had addressed *Sheba's Daughters* to future travellers, Cheesman's text is clearly intended as a guide to further exploration; he provides advice to travellers and a list of necessary baggage. Much of his text is also concerned with the activities of previous travellers. He discusses the Bents' excavations at Bahrein and the comments made by Philby and Hogarth concerning them. He also criticizes Philby's cartographic caprices and inaccurate description of Jabrin and Jafura and carries the work of Philby and Palgrave in order "to sit in self-appointed judgement upon the merits of the two" (Cheesman 1926:67). There is an extended discussion on details noted by each and Cheesman concludes that both visited the area in question. As Cheesman states, much of the detail he observes is noted not for its intrinsic interest but rather in order to adjudicate textual controversies:

> This small plot [of barley] was only worthy of notice on account of the controversy raised by Philby. (ibid.:110)

Like Thomas, Cheesman's motives are scientific; he is a naturalist, attempting to kill as many rare birds as possible for museum specimens. Two Americans he meets in Basra, however, scoff at his story and assume he is, like themselves, hunting for diamonds, oil, or gold. Similarly, Cheesman believes his guide (of mixed race) is a spy attached to his party to ascertain whether he is more interested in military matters than ornithology and he notes that the Arabs seldom joined him at meals, which he sees as a "desire to show the greatest respect to the Sultan's guest" (ibid.:53). However, every traveller makes a point of describing the sharing of meals with Arabs and its significance in forming bonds (indeed Doughty at one point grabs food from a man's hand and shoves it into his own mouth in order to establish a protective relationship), so this ostracism may be due more to suspicion than respect. Cheesman is clearly identified with institutions which have 'interests' in Arabia; in addition to his military status, he held an official post under Ibn Saud. His book contains a forward by Sir Percy Cox and both the War Office and the Royal Geographical Society assisted his expedition.

Cheesman exhibits the usual racist attitudes; asked to give medical aid to a royal slave, he states:

> The patient was a most unintelligent nigger boy. The boorish stupidity of most of these Central African negroes makes a sharp contrast to the quick wit of the Arabs. (ibid.:193)

As noted, it is also a "half-breed" servant who proves unsatisfactory:

> Ever since our first meeting at Oqair, I realised this half-breed negro would require delicate handling, and was prepared to see him attempt to control me to his advantage, with the clumsy boorish cunning which is as much in the character of the nigger as it is foreign to the nature of the pure-bred Arab. The latter attempts to create a satisfactory situation without arousing the same resentment in the intended victim. (ibid.:65)

The Bedouin are the usual desert nobility; the Al Murra, for example, resemble:

> ...early Sumerian sculptures. It is not unreasonable to suppose that they are the representatives of this, the earliest civilization...they have the natural good manners associated with old races and the uncultured pure-bred badawin in particular.

(ibid.:257-258)

Even the Bedouin animals partake of this nobility, for in the saluki "there is none of the vulgar familiarity an ordinary dog would show when begging for a meal" (ibid.:269).

Rutter

Travel in the Middle East became more common for Europeans after the First World War. Eldon Rutter repeated the feats of Burton by visiting *The Holy Cities Of Arabia* (1928). Rutter's text makes no reference to earlier travellers, however, and there is little romanticization of Arabs. Some familiar themes are apparent. He attends the funeral of an Egyptian before leaving Cairo:

> ...a singularly amiable youth of manly frankness of disposition somewhat unusual in town Arabs.. (Rutter 1928:I,vii)

The Bedouin are not portrayed romantically in Rutter's text: "...the Bedouin come to town displays the caution of the English country yokel in the same situation" (ibid.:I,140).

The most consistent theme throughout the text seems to be the avarice of the Arabs. Disguised as a Syrian, he states to his companions that all social hierarchy is abolished in the desert; this fellowship, essentially false, is later revealed to be illusory when one of his companions steals the key to Rutter's strong-box as the latter lies delirious with fever. Slipping in and out of the delirium he fears will cause him to reveal his true identity, Rutter engages in a long silent struggle for control of the self while his companions watch like "ghastly vultures" and "gloating purse-snatching ghouls":

> My companions, the friends of many months of fellowship stood suddenly revealed as beings of an unknown and sinister world, between whom and me no sympathy could ever be...I felt with peculiar certainty in that moment that, ultimately, in the world of men, a man must stand or fall alone. (ibid.:II,129,132)

As his illness reaches a crisis, Rutter recites an Islamic prayer, suddenly changing the expressions of his companions. Although not realizing Rutter's identity as a Christian, worship of a single deity unites them all:

> This then is the key to the locked door of the Muslim's heart This is the passport to the innermost confines of the world of Islam. (ibid.:II,133)

Recovering simultaneously the key to the heart of the Arabs and to his own strong-box, Rutter concludes his journey in a straightforward manner.

Cobbold

Rutter's journey was followed by that of Lady Evelyn Cobbold, the first British Muslim woman to make the *haj*. She took no pains to conceal her identity and travelled comfortably by car, although she demonstrates a familiar ambiguous attitude towards mechanization:

> Even the Ford motor could not vulgarise the lovely moon-splashed desert, whose stillness was unbroken by a camel caravan we passed, silently treading its way Northwest, mysterious phantoms of beasts and men from another time than ours - I inwardly prayed that the motor may never displace the camel. (Cobbold 1934:16-17)

Much of Cobbold's narrative mourns the passing of traiditional Arabia under the impact of modernization. However, she does not seek the arduous desert trials of Doughty or Philby. In Jedda, she dines with bankers, foreign ministers, and oil-company representatives and notes the lack of a proper hairdresser and the difficulties of entertaining. Other of her aristocratic concerns, however, are more in keeping with the discourse:

> As the owner of a deer forest in the Highlands of Scotland where I do some stalking on my own account, I am anxious to learn what sport there is to be had in this land of waterless wastes where the elusive oryx is supposed to roam. (ibid.:25)

Much like Philby, whose house she stays at in Jedda and whose comments are quoted throughout Cobbold's text, she admires the austerity of Wahhabism:

> It was when the Arabs allowed luxury and love of pleasure to creep in on them and rob them of their ideals that they fell from their high estate. (ibid.:106)

It is the stark existence of the Bedouin which makes them appealing:

> But to-day a young Bedouin is singing a song of the desert. Full-throated and sonorous is the voice; a wild song holding a strange melancholy - a yearning appeal - telling of the freedom and great spaces that are his heritage where time does not count and his wants are few. The milk of his camel provides him with food and drink, her wool is woven by his women for his tent and clothing, her droppings supply him with fuel. He knows the scorching heat and the bitter cold; hunger and thirst stalk grim shadows beside him; he invariably has a blood feud with another tribe and in the desert many enemies lie in wait. He is undaunted. He holds his personal liberty as more precious than life itself, to him the changing world carries no meaning, empires may crash, the vast solitudes hear no echo. His code is the immemorial code of the desert, to show the

> stranger hospitality, to share his last crust with a friend, to face misfortune with resignation, while to his enemy he evinces a relentless hate.
>
> For centuries he has followed the primitive life of his ancestors, as lived in these sun-scorched deserts since the birth of time. (ibid.:167-168)

Although Doughty had commented on the role of women in Arab society, Cobbold gives them their most prominent place within the discourse, describing their chastity and their participation in battle (ibid.:186). Much of her text is related to the role of women in Islamic society, a topic largely ignored by the discourse.

Cobbold also extensively compares Islam to Christianity and finds the former preferable. At the *Kaaba* she feels a "strong wave of spiritual exaltation" which is not the gratified pride Burton experienced but a religious ephiphany (ibid.:133). The *Kaaba* is seen to have a counterpart both in biblical and British lore:

> The Moslems are not alone in venerating historic stones; one instance among countless others is that of Jacob, who set up a stone as a memorial and the kings of England are still crowned over the stone in Westminster Abbey, about which so many strange stories are woven to prove its ancient origin. (ibid.:134)

Cobbold also makes mention of the Crusades and chivalry (ibid.:208-217). Biblical and poetic references occur throughout her text; a Medina butcher appears as "a picturesque figure from an *Arabian Nights*' dream" (ibid.:161). Approaching a Bedouin camp near Mecca, "one is transported to a scene in the *Arabian Nights*; it is a fairy-tale of long ago, such as delighted us in childhood" (ibid.:220). Returning home, she wonders if the whole journey had been "an *Arabian Nights*' dream" (ibid.:252).

Cobbold shows herself to be aware of previous travellers. Regarded with suspicion by the Emir of Medina, she considers this a natural result of the clandestine activities of Burton and Burckhardt. She includes a translation of an Arab love song by Wilfrid Blunt and carries *Arabia Deserta* with her on the *haj* but finds it too bigoted and spurns Doughty for the Koran.

Bell

Famous as a Middle East archaeologist, Gertrude Bell was born to "one of England's richest and most enlightened families" (Winstone 1978:2). The family was indeed wealthy:

> Almost everyone she knew was in a position of some power or influence. Almost every branch of her family contained a noted politician, diplomat or scholar. (ibid.:34)

Enlightenment, however, seems only to have existed in the area of self-expression, for Bell's political attitudes were all conservative. Her *Amurath To Amurath* (1911), for example, opens with an adulatory letter to Lord Cromer and Tidrick (1981:187) describes her as "bursting with imperial confidence"; prior to her jaunts in the Middle East, Bell found it adventuresome to stroll in the picturesque squalor of the East London slums (Winstone 1978:94). Although her social position allowed her greater freedom than most women, she was not involved with the struggle for womens' rights:

> Gertrude did not regard her own liberated existence

> as anything more than a natural expression of her own ability and enterprise. She was no early feminist; indeed she distrusted and disliked her own sex, seldom missing an opportunity to comment on their ineptness or their unfitness to engage in those activities which were better left to men. (ibid.81)

Although friendly with Anne Blunt, a fellow aristocrat and desert traveller, Bell did not wish to see the privileges resulting from her own class position extended to other women:

> In 1908 she had joined the movement against the extension of the franchise to women, along with the Countess of Jersey, Mrs. Humphrey Ward and others, and was a founder member of the Anti-suffrage League, later absorbed into the "heterosexual" League formed by Lords Curzon and Cromer. (ibid.:110)

In Curzon's case, suppression of women was related to the medieval/biblical complex so much associated with Arabian travel; during the 1880's and 1890's, he belonged to the Souls, a group of Conservative imperialists who played games of courtly love. The group also included Alfred Balfour, George Wyndham, Secretary for Ireland, Alfred Lyttleton, Colonial Secretary, and St. John Broderick, Secretary of State for India. The group viewed itself as the inner elite of Empire and, as for so many of the Arabian travellers, the *Morte d'Arthur* was a mystical text for them.

Educated at Oxford, Bell travelled widely, making her first trip to Persia in 1892. She became part of a travelling elite who could afford to live out their Middle Eastern fantasies and who all wrote of their travels:

> They fascinated each other almost as much as they were collectively fascinated by their Arab hosts,

> all scribbling descriptive diary notes and letters home...[Bell] was in many ways the central figure, the least committed politically, the most widely travelled and...the lone woman. Most of the others were in government service and, like their German counterparts throughout these peripheral lands of the Ottoman Empire, they combined the roles of travel and archaeology with that of "intelligence" or, in plain language, spying. (ibid.:110)

This group included Hogarth, Lawrence, Aubrey Herbert, and Sir Mark Sykes, who was to become Britain's principal war-time advisor on the Arabs. Bell met the latter in Jerusalem in 1904. Sykes was a neighbour of the Bells in Yorkshire, the "son of a baronet and one of the country's richest landowners". Their meeting "became an exercise in showmanship, each trying to outdo the other in Oriental learning, knowledge of routes and the price of animals and guides..."; Bell later connived with the Wali of Damascus to have Sykes' permission to travel in Syria revoked. When the latter finally did obtain such permission he was outraged to find that Bell had 'stolen' his route. Sykes' contempt for the Arabs was matched by his hatred for Bell:

> Confound the silly chattering windbag of conceited, gushing, flat-chested, man-woman, globe-trotting rump-wagging, blethering ass! (in ibid.:96)

In 1913 Bell travelled to Hail and in the same year was elected to membership in the Royal Geographical Society. She has perhaps been over-rated as an explorer; the route to Hail was well-mapped and by this time the area received frequent European visitors and presented no danger - Bell travelled in her usual style, taking along fine linen and cutlery (ibid.134,107).

Winstone's assertion that Bell was not politically committed seems mistaken. In 1915, she was consulted by Herbert Samuel on the possibility of creating a British-controlled Zionist homeland in Palestine; she favoured the idea of a buffer state between French-controlled Syria and Egypt but rejected Zionist proposals as unworkable. In 1917 she was shown a copy of the still-secret Sykes-Picot Agreement. Bell's influential political connections and knowledge of the Middle East made her privy to various other government proceedings; her knowledge of politics is noted by Winstone himself:

> Politics were food and drink to Gertrude's alert mind...connections with men of power at home and in the Middle East pointed inexorably in that direction. (ibid.:153)

Recruited by Naval Intelligence, Bell wrote her first secret report on Syria in 1915 for the Director of Military Operations. She also worked for the Arab Bureau in Cairo, providing information on tribal affairs and geographical knowledge in the Middle East.

Bell's *The Desert And The Sown* (1908) was extremely popular. Although it propagated the romantic view of the Bedouin (Bell 1908:66-67), her view of the Arabs was only slightly less contemptuous than that of Sykes: "The Oriental is like a very old child" (ibid.:ix). Bell also dismisses Arab independence as nonsensical:

> Of what value are the pan-Arabic associations and the inflammatory leaflets that they issue from foreign printing presses? The answer is easy: they are worth nothing at all. There is no nation of Arabs. (ibid.:140)

In Bell's view, only the Turks have kept order in the East but Turkey is decaying and the Arabs cry out for the imposition of British rule:

> The Treasurer broke in here and said that even the Moslem population hated the Ottoman government and would infinitely rather be ruled by a foreigner, what though he were an infidel - preferably by the English, because the prosperity of Egypt had made so deep an impression on Syrian minds. (ibid.:207)

Bell is confident that the British can provide suitable control:

> Being English, I am persuaded that we are the people who could best have taken Syria in hand with the prospect of a success greater than that which might be attained by a moderately reasonable Sultan. (ibid.:xi)

The Desert And The Sown contains familiar medieval references: "I felt as though I were riding with some knight of the Fairy Queen..." (ibid.:201). *Amurath To Amurath*, less romantic, was also less popular, but Bell remained one of the most famous travellers until Thomas created "Lawrence Of Arabia" and immediately overshadowed Bell's reputation.

Ingrams

During the post-war period, Harold Ingrams served as Colonial Administrator in Aden; both he and his wife received medals from the Royal Geographical Society and the Central Asian Society. Ingrams' *Arabia And The Isles*, first published in 1941 went through three editions, the latest (1966) containing an introduction by Sir Bernard Reilly, former Resident at Aden. Ingrams' text begins with a biblical quotation and employs many poetic allusions and quotations, from Classical and Romantic authors and from earlier travellers in Arabia (including Burton's translation of the *Arabian Nights*). Ingrams states that the work of earlier Arabian travellers is his favorite reading material and he alludes to them throughout the text.

Ingrams' stated purpose is to inspire a sense of adventure in those entering the Colonial Service; this point is mentioned in the first edition and re-emphasized in the 1966 version. He also suggests that his remarks on the administration of Aden will have application for the administration of African colonies and gives much advice to future administrators. This aspect of the travel text as a form of recruitment for future travellers and colonial agents has been mentioned above; Dickson, British Political Agent in Kuwait before joining the Kuwait Oil Company, states a similar intention in his work on *The Arab Of The Desert* (1949:9).

Ingrams, noting that both he and the "Homeric" Lord Belhaven have been described as eighteenth century adventurers, defends British imperialism, denying that exploitation exists anywhere in the British Empire and that oil was ever a factor in the British presence at Aden, insisting that sheer good-will led to the occupation. When discussing R.A.F. bombing raids on Arab villages, Ingrams suggests that the Arabs are happy to be attacked and have their homes destroyed since submission to greater British power allows them to save 'face' by not counter-attacking other tribes. Indeed Ingrams suggests that the Arabs wish for more frequent bombing raids (Ingrams 1966:65).

Ingrams' text is anecdotal, describing quaint incidents of colonial rule, and contains no romanticization of the Bedouin, although, as they have done previously, the latter live to illustrate a book:

> But all this apart there remains the consciousness of the first literature with which most of us become familiar and, study we geology never so hard and believe in evolution firmly as we may, when we think of the beginnings of our world a thought of the Book of Genesis passes automatically through our minds. And in the Hadhramaut Genesis is ever present...in the Hadhramaut you are living in Genesis. It is just as if the beduin had realized the latent possibilities of their land as a setting and had staged in it the story of the creation and the peopling of the world. After telling who were the sons of Joktan the Bible is silent as to what became of them, so that you come to a country as if it were lost to you, and there feel you have discovered them and seen their life and adventures - the living story of the sons of Joktan in a world that lives still in the fashion of the Old Testament. (ibid.:133)

Glubb

Many of Ingrams' attitudes towards the Colonial Service and administration of Empire are also seen in the work of John Bagot Glubb, a military officer and Colonial Administrator in the Middle East, whose biography provides insights into conditions which form those attitudes. Offering his remarks as a general picture of those who entered the Colonial Service, Glubb describes his country background with traditions of fox-hunting and riding, his religious upbringing, family traditions of colonial service, and public school education. Like Ingrams, Glubb stresses a sense of duty and tradition rather than a desire for profit as the motivation behind imperialism. He extends this colonialist philanthrophy to the whole of Victorian Britain, which he sees as:

> ...profoundly idealistic...deeply religious and warmly philanthropical...The British saw it as their duty to intervene in those countries in order to rescue the common people of those countries from the oppression of their rulers.
>
> Whenever [Britain] found a country with what appeared to her an unjust, corrupt, or tyrannical government, she conceived it to be her duty to intervene, in order to protect the poor from the oppression of their own rulers. (Glubb 1959:41-42)

Rather than explaining why such charity did not begin in the industrial slums of Britain, Glubb goes on to develop a more romantic picture of the Bedouin than that found in Ingrams' text. Although Glubb was active mainly in Iraq, his comments are similar to those of the travellers in Arabia and he remarks on Bedouin tribes such as the Anaiza and the Shammar, "the aristocrats in a plebian world [where] merchants, travellers, and farmers were regarded by the free nomads as inferior types" (Glubb 1978:84). Furthermore:

> Every bedouin is a *grand seigneur* in rags and is perfectly at ease whether he is talking to a king or a shepherd. (ibid.:87)

The medieval theme is stressed:

> [The Bedouin] invented romantic sporting war...the original and most remarkable system they bequeathed...to Europe, where it developed into medieval chivalry. (ibid.:148)

Throughout Glubb's work are references to "knights errant" and "Arabian Knights" (ibid.:156,150). The Bedouin are seen to do nothing but breed thoroughbreds and greyhounds and conduct chivalrous raids; they are "as socially exclusive as any aristocracy in Europe" (ibid.:31). Desert nobility is explicitly equated with that of Britain, as Glubb describes a Bedouin poet's recitation: "With a few changes in names and localities, his words might have been used by an old English landowner of a generation or two ago". Having drawn this parallel, Glubb uses the Bedouin's criticism of contemporary Arabian society to implicitly refer to social change in Britain:

> Government was undercutting the roots of the old society, by strengthening the lower classes and by sacrificing the noble.
>
> He and his ancestors had ruled the desert for centuries. Now any baseborn sheepman could insult him with impunity. The country was sacrificing its natural leaders and was promoting individuals who were motivated only by a desire for gain, not by honour or pride of place. (ibid.:97)

For all his romantic attachment to the Bedouin, Glubb is never is any doubt as to where his true loyalties lie. In 1923 he journeyed among the tribes, drawing up maps which would later be used in bombing raids:

> Riding backwards and forwards through their little groups of huts, I was always eating their food and drinkling their coffee. But at the same time I was plotting their settlements on the map with a view to bombing them. (ibid.:114)

Glubb's defence of imperialism as non-exploitative altruism also appears in the introduction he contributes to Shepherd's *Arabian Adventure* (1961). However, Shepherd, who served with the Trucial Oman Scouts to expel the Saudis from

Buraimi in 1955, contradicts Glubb's introduction when he states that British troops were there to protect British oil interests (Shepherd 1961:32-33).

Stark

Freya Stark's *The Southern Gates Of Arabia* (1938) is dedicated to the R.A.F., prefaced with quotations from the Bible and the *Aeneid*, and begins with a description of the fabulous wealth of ancient Arabia and her romantic desire to follow the old trade routes. Thus in the opening pages of this text we find the familiar complex of political and military power, literary references, and romantic attachment to a legendary past. Biblical and poetic references are abundant in the text, as is a tendency to relate Arabian scenes to British ones (Stark 1938:30-31,172, 173,210).

Stark carries a copy of Malory through "the medieval depths of Tarim" (ibid.:219-220), attended by the "chivalrous devotion" of her guide (ibid.:67); at Shibam: "It was like the road to Camelot, and I...felt not unlike the Lady of Shallot..."(ibid.:286). It is not only medieval Britain she encounters in Arabia, for, as with Glubb, contemporary British problems exist there as well; it is the "strict trades-unionism" of the tribes, for example, which pose a nuisance to the traveller.

Modernization is not what Stark wants in Arabia; she scoffs at liberal sentiments which would introduce prison reform at Makalla (ibid.:39-40). For her, Arabia is the haven of an aristocratic feudal order which has passed in Britain but to which she clings tenaciously; Arabia is the stage upon which the social ills of contemporary Britain can be posed. Complaining of the spread of European inventions to Arabia, she says:

> Left to themselves, the untaught make lovely things, but when we begin to think what we *ought* to admire or despise then the devil gets loose in the minds of manufacturers in the Midlands, and we accept the things they give us wholesale, as the East accepts the West. (ibid.:199-200)

Curiously, one aspect of the British presence which physically exists in Arabia rather than in discourse, the R.A.F. landing strips, are "scarce distinguishable from the general smoothness of the valley floor" (ibid.:185). In other words, the British presence is as natural as the landscape. In contrast, she is "unable to discover, as M. Van den Meulen seems to have done, the preference for Dutch to British rule" (ibid.:173). Van den Meulen appears to be a Dutch traveller who has attributed pro-Dutch sentiments to the Arabs, just as the latter have been made to approve British domination in the work of Bell (1908:207), Rutter (1928:II,178), and Ingrams (1966:384). Stark, too, finds Arabs to give testimonials for British imperialism, not only in Arabia, but in Singapore as well (Stark 1938:211,266).

Stark shows the usual dislike of Blacks, mentioning "the modest reach of the African brain" (ibid.:108) or the "uninventive mind" of a Black soldier (ibid.:187). In spite of all their chivalry, the Arabs, too, are barely human here:

> Two wild little men of some earlier world than ours had been brought to me the day before as guides and carriers. They looked caged, like creatures that might beat themselves against the furniture to get out. (ibid.:52)

Women at a wedding party are similarly described:

Some were very pretty, with pointed faces and long small chins; but they were inhuman, hieratic and sacrificial; not women but a terrifying, uncompromising embodiment of Woman, primeval and unchanging. (ibid.:48)

Stark's *A WInter In Arabia* (1940) continues in the same vein. This text is also dedicated to agents of imperial power, Doreen and Harold Ingrams, and begins with a biblical quote, followed by others from the Greeks and the English Romantics.

Stark's notions of class and racial superiority are revealed in her dealings with servants. After being made to wait hours for her in "blistering" sun, an Arab servant asks for money; refused, "he looked at me with the sad eyes of a monkey who is being laughed at" (Stark 1940:16). Although the other Europeans in her party make their own beds, Stark refrains from such demeaning activities:

> I always felt ashamed, for I never made my bed, but left that to Qasim who had, I thought, too little else to do and was humiliated if he stood idle while we worked. It made him happier to work and it made me happier not to; and saved me from that strange passion, akin to *suttee*, which soothes the hearts of women who do unnecessary household jobs and spoil their servants. (ibid.:18)

In spite of that fact that it is Qasim who does the work, Stark later uses him as an example of the difference between Orient/ Occident, which she characterizes as being/doing, the indolent East and the progressive West.

Like Bell, Stark views the emancipation of women as a distasteful prospect (ibid.:52,67), although she delights in her own status in Arabia, particularly when she shows herself "like royalty from the terrace" to a cheering crowd of Arabs.

Ingrams ("the Hand of the Law") stops in for a visit, dressed in Arab costume, in contrast to the Arabs, who, rather appropriately, appear as figures out of European literature: one wears a Byronic coat, another seems like a Balzac figure, and a third is "a psuedo-Gothic creature of the Romantic Age" (ibid.:128-138,112). Like Ingrams, Stark advocates the bombing of the Arabs:

> ...by establishing a rigid code in this manner of bombing, we had turned it into a sort of warfare which the medieval courtesy of the Arab can understand...(ibid.:167)

Although Stark praises the Bedouin love of freedom, on her return to Aden she attempts to persuade the R.A.F. to increase the bombing raids and criticizes those in Britain who object to such a program of 'pacification'.

Thesiger

Wilfrid Thesiger closes the heroic tradition of Arabian travel. By his own account, he went to Arabia "only just in time"; others will follow but:

> ...they will move about in cars and keep in touch with the outside world by wireless. They will bring back results far more interesting than mine, but they will never know the spirit of the land nor the greatness of the Arabs. (Thesiger 1959:xiii)

Thesiger was born in Addis Ababa, the son of a Colonial Administrator. Educated at Eton, he felt out place there and longed to return to Africa, assuaging such desires by continual immersion in travel literature. He joined the Sudan Political Service at Khartoum in 1935, but found Sudan too European: "I wanted colour and savagery, hardship and adventure" (ibid.:16). Discussing Arabia, he is very like Doughty, Philby, and Lawrence, whom he quotes:

> ...bitter dessicated land which knows nothing of gentleness or ease...hardship... privations..."hard...terrible: a death in life"...cruel...hard and merciless life... monotony...fear...it was the very hardnesss of life in the desert which drew me back there...To return to the Empty Quarter would be to answer a challenge...to test myself to the limit. (ibid.1-4) In the desert I had found a freedom unattainable in civilization; a life unhampered by possessions, since everything that was not a necessity was an encumbrance...I had learnt the satisfaction which comes from hardship and the pleasure which springs from abstinence. (ibid.:22)

Thesiger notes that reading Thomas and Lawrence at Oxford had awakened his interest in the desert. The Empty Quarter became for Thesiger what it had been for Philby: "the Promised Land" (ibid.:26).

Sponsored by the Middle East Anti-Locust Unit, Thesiger was able to travel freely through Arabia and spent three months with the Bait Kathir, whose avarice at first repelled him but whom he later came to prefer to town Arabs. Meeting some Rashidi, however, he decides:

> I had found the Arabs for whom I was looking...[They] had been bred from the purest race in the world, and lived under conditions where only the hardiest and the best could survive. They were as fine-drawn and highly-strung as thoroughbreds.

> Beside them the Bait Kathir seemed uncouth and assertive, lacking the final polish of the inner desert. (ibid.53-54)

Such notions of racial purity occur throughout the text:

> No race in the world prizes lineage so highly as the Arabs and none has kept its blood so pure. There is, of course, mixed blood in the towns, especially in the seaports, but this is only the dirty froth upon the desert's edge. (ibid.:77)

The most disagreeable member of Thesiger's party is of a "coarser breed" who has spent much time in towns (ibid.:119).

Thesiger shares with Lawrence not only a predilection for austerity but also a (probable) homosexual attachment to an Arab (ibid.:172). Additionally both Lawrence and Thesiger realize the ambiguities of their role:

> ...the threat which my presence implied - the approaching disintegration of his society and the destruction of his beliefs. Here especially it seemed that the evil that comes with sudden change would far outweigh the good. While I was with the Arabs I wished only to live as they lived and, now that I have left them, I would gladly think that nothing in their lives was altered by my coming. Regretfully, however, I realize that the maps I made helped others, with more material aims, to visit and corrupt a people whose spirit once lit the desert like a flame. (ibid.:68)

Like Lawrence, Thesiger eventually ends by finding himself stranded between two cultures, belonging to neither.

Attempting a second crossing of the Rub'al Khali, for which he has been denied permission by Ibn Saud, Thesiger is captured by the latter's troops but is rescued by Philby, with whom he became friends. Unlike Philby, Thesiger expresses a strong dislike of the oil companies in Arabia, but both share a desire to make their experiences in Arabia as hard and as demanding as possible.

Thesiger hates the incursion of the machine into Arabia, although he realizes his part in its ascendency. He considers himself privileged to have crossed Arabia at a time when motor transport was impossible, for to have crossed by camel when alternate means were available "would have turned the venture into a stunt" (ibid.:260). Thus Thesiger closes his book, as well as the epic age of Arabian travel and the romantic image of the Bedouin, whom he leaves to become an unskilled labour force, "a parasitic proletariat squatting around oil-fields" (ibid.:82).

IV. Analysis

A. Introduction

Having examined in (roughly) chronological sequence the texts which constitute this discourse, it can be seen that the discourse mainatins a high degree of internal consistency. In this chapter I will extract these continuous themes and discuss their significance. However, merely to determine which themes are constant, which vanish, which writhe and tangle throughout is not the only point of this investigation. I will also devote attention to the external contours of the discourse, the conditions of possibility in which the discourse occurs. Rather than viewing the discourse merely as a passive reflection of these conditions, however, I will also analyze the discourse in terms of the power/knowledge complex.

B. Themes

Travel As Introspection

Eothen breaks with the tradition of earlier travel works by shifting emphasis from empirical observation to a concern with the author's personality. Many authors (Kinglake, Burton, Doughty, Lawrence, Philby, Thesiger) in the course of their Arabian travels undergo some experience which may be described as an epiphany of self. Even where the text itself exists as an official report, evidence

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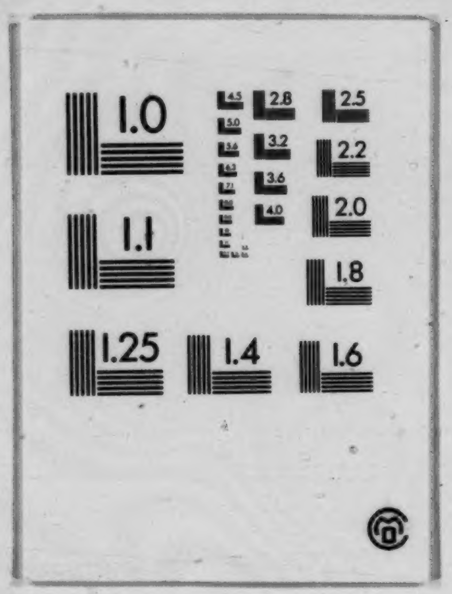
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exists that the journey was regarded as a point of personal prestige (as in the case of Pelley). In many cases, the author undergoes a living experience of some 'primal text' from childhood. Thus, the journey to Arabia is posited as one of self-realization.

In spite of this personal emphasis, however, the discourse reveals itself to be less a series of individual texts expressing individual concerns than as a unified textual body which elaborates recurring themes. Even the ephiphany of self has a pattern: escape from modernity, triumph over nature, or triumph over death. Where the self-realizing journey refers to a 'primal text', this text is seen to be either the Bible or the *Arabian Nights*. Furthermore, the expression of the triumph of the self is always related in terms which refer to the superiority of race, religion, or nation. The near-total homogeneity of class affiliation of authors allows us to read the Arabian adventure less as the expression of individual personality than as a description of the 'unconscious' of a specific class. Not only does the discourse reflect the experience of the white British Christian in an elemental primitive world dominated by an alien religion, but by focusing on the valorous image of the Bedouin as desert aristocrat an allegorical template was provided for the British aristocracy, increasingly cast into an economic wilderness by a rising urban bourgeoisie, by which it could symbolically reassert its worth.

The Journey To The Past

Not only was the journey to the East seen as a journey to the past (Kinglake, Cobbold, Bell, Stark), but discourse condemned the modernization of Arabia (Lawrence, Philby, Thesiger). Doughty explictly saw his Arabian journey as one to the racial, religious, national, and literary past of Britain. Doughty used his epic of Arabian travel as a means to criticize the perceived moral decline of Britain; this decline became a more pronounced theme in the discourse as both the pre-eminence of the aristocracy and British power in the Middle East began to wane. Just as Doughty intended *Arabia Deserta* to reawaken British patriotism, the Blunts found in Arabia their perfect model of social order. This model was advanced not only as the most effective form of government for the Middle East but was also the very form of aristocratic power which the Blunts wished to maintain in Britain. Thus the discourse served as a medium in which to make essayistic and ideological comments about Britain. Through the use of an archaic vocabulary and an explicit comparison of Bedouin shaykhs to medieval knights, a connection with Britain's past was formed and the popularity of the romantic imagery of the travel texts led to the eager consumption of ideolgical messages. Contemporary writers like Hazelton (1980) have described their desert travels not only as a recovery of a personal past but as a recovery of the imperial past through an identification with earlier travellers.

Thus it is evident that discourse treated at least two versions of Arabia. On the one hand, travel texts provided detailed information about contemporary experiences in Arabia. But discourse also created another Arabia, one which did not really exist, or, more correctly, one which existed in discourse. By describing the journey to Arabia as one to the past, I am not merely suggesting that the discourse simply incorporated the popular notion that Islamic civilization had declined from its medieval peak. Instead, I maintain that discourse imposes its own form on its object and that the various factors which influenced the formation of the discourse (biblical interest, Romanticism, racialist theories, primitivism, medievalism, the *Arabian Nights*) coalesced to form an Arabia which was a fantasy world belonging to a mythical past. Whether travellers found a living museum of the Bible, a medieval paradise of feudal rule, or an *Arabian Nights*' fantasy, their Arabia was essentially a product of discourse.

Literary Quest

Again Kinglake's text initiates this aspect of discourse. *Eothen* attempts to 'recover' another book, the *Iliad*, just as Doughty relives biblical episodes and adopts the character of St. Paul. Lawrence not only fashioned *Seven Pillars* upon the models provided by other texts, but approached the Arab Revolt as a literary epic which he would compose (Said 1975). Although Pelley and Hazelton express the desire to have their books shaped by their journeys, it is evident in both cases that their experiences had been predetermined, at least to some degree, before their journeys began. In Hazelton's case, she explicitly adopts Doughty's character (although misrepresenting it) and his vision, just as Doughty had adopted that of a biblical character.

Travel writing has had a long association with other, more obviously 'literary' forms and it is not simply the case that the former has adopted aspects of the latter, as shown by classic works such as *Gulliver's Travels* and *Robinson Crusoe*. The travel discourse is filled with literary allusions and references to other texts and descriptions of Arabia and Arabs have been shown to conform to a certain limited number of paradigms which can be related to several 'primal' texts. In the case of Doughty, the journey to Arabia is presented as a journey into literature. Doughty represents the most explicit example of a desire present throughout the discourse.

Such instances lead to the suggestion that the discourse concerns itself not only with Arabia, but about writing itself. In fact, Arabia ceases to exist outside discourse, its existence has long been subsumed to discourse and 'Arabia' comes to be seen only as an artifact of literature; within the discourse it can only be described in terms of previous texts.

Medievalism

This is a near-constant theme of discourse; after Burton, nearly every text makes at least passing reference to knights and chivalry, reflecting a cultural movement which permeated every aspect of British society.

Medievalism contributed both ideologically and stylistically to the discourse. Palgrave compares the Arabs to characters from the novels of Sir Walter Scott, a major figure in the medieval revival. *Arabia Deserta* is the clearest example of the attempt to employ a medieval perspective; Doughty's style was a conscious attempt to emulate that of Chaucer and Spenser. Many travellers carried the *Morte d'Arthur* with them and just as Doughty assumed the role of a biblical character, Wilfrid Blunt adopted a medieval persona. The Bedouin came to illustrate the Arthurian legends just as they had fleshed out the Bible and the *Arabian Nights*. Thus the *Morte d'Arthur* joins these works as a reified text. Not only did the individual travellers identify with medievalism but their biographers also emphasized this aspect of Arabian travel so that this articulation was maintained by a secondary discourse. By portraying Arabia as a medieval realm, another connection with Britain was formed and the projection of the terms of the medieval revival upon Arabia served to universalize the medieval ethos and the class system it sought to justify.

The Town/Desert Division

Again, this theme reflects a specific class contradiction in British society: the landed gentry and rural aristocracy threatened by the growing power of the urban bourgeoisie. The avarice of town Arabs and their sordid concern for financial matters is compared to the nobility of the desert nomads, who are seen to spend their time in aristocratic pursuits such as falconry, raiding and poetry. This comparsison represents a thinly-veiled allegory of the British aristocracy, an idealized self-portrait of that class as it saw itself in relation to those who were rapidly gaining social ascendency through industrial wealth. Indeed, it is possible to periodize the development of this theme in a general way: as the aristocracy perceived itself to be increasingly threatened, romantic aspects of the Bedouin were replaced by more attention to their harsh manner of existence and their threatened way of life. Explicit comparisons are made between the deleterious effects of the modernization of Arabia and the erosion of the traditional way of life of the British aristocracy. Just as railways increasingly destroyed rural isolation in Britain, the machine and modern transportation became symbolic of the corruption of traditional Bedouin existence.

This division, also present in the ideology of medievalism, is a constant theme of the discourse and its persistence gives it the status of a rule. Palgrave's metathesis is a notable exception and his account was widely criticized by other travellers. The romanticization of the Bedouin was always over-determined, however, by relations of imperial power. Burton and Palmer were convinced that the Bedouin were a nuisance which eventually would have to be disposed of. Lawrence, Bell, Philby, Ingrams, and Stark all advised on the management of the Bedouin. Kinglake advised that they would be improved by conversion to Christianity, achieved by British domination of the Middle East.

Racialism

Also a consistent theme, racialism established a racial hierarchy in which Arabs were placed far above Blacks but always below the British. Such a hierarchy was not peculiar to the discourse of travel in Arabia. Greenberger (1969) notes that in British fiction about India Muslims were portrayed as far superior to Hindus. Greenberger sees this preference as based on a perceived greater similarity between Muslims and the British and on the fact that it was the Hindu population which composed the merchant class. The correspondence with the travel discourse, with its contempt for town Arabs involved in commerce, should be apparent.

In keeping with the concerns of anthropology and evolutionary theory contemporary with the travel discourse, many travel accounts attempt to categorize the races of Arabia. Moral values were usually assigned to such taxonomies and such a scheme undoubtedly justified repression of those groups considered troublesome. The

Bedouin, relatively few in number and inhabiting zones of little economic importance, could serve as a convenient standard to which other groups could be made to compare unfavourably.

In most cases, where a traveller is betrayed by an Arab, the latter is seen to be racially impure and usually corrupted by experience with urban life. Discourse predetermined experience: the impossibility of betrayal by the nomadic nobility had to be explained by an assertion of racial impurity (Tidrick 1981:29-30).

Mystical Associations

It is unsurprising that a discourse produced by a highly religious society concerning travel to a region associated with the sacred text of that society should be filled with mystical associations. In addition to his literary aims, Doughty's pilgrimage was a religious one and, if the reaction of Dorothea Baird is a reliable indication, readers of *Arabia Deserta* also participated in the text as a religious experience. Lawrence described *Arabia Deserta* as a "bible"; Cobbold, a convert to Islam, was unable to read it on the *haj*. Philby, who suggests that he may be the reincarnation of an earlier traveller, makes his Arabian journey a mystical one, full of strange omens and references to the betrayal of Christ. Kinglake's epiphany of self is inseparable from the idea of Christian triumph. Burton's celebration of medieval Arab chivalry is intertwined with notions of medieval mysticism and particularly with the spiritual/erotic symbol of the sword.

Additionally, I suggest that there are two epistemological approaches involved in the enterprise of knowing Arabia. One is empirical and consists of the gathering of observable facts. The other is mystical and is often opposed to the first mode. Suggested throughout the discourse (Kinglake (1844:52-53), Palmer (1871:I,269), Ingrams (1966:133)), this opposition is summarized in Hazelton's (1980:xi) rejection of academic knowledge of the desert in favor of "a different kind of knowing, far closer to the biblical sense of the word".

Martyrdom

Because martyrdom is such a pronounced theme of the discourse, it is mentioned separately rather than as simply another mystical reference. The biblical landscape again gave particular significance to this theme. Philby's references to the betrayal of Christ are noted above. Doughty similarly underwent not only a living experience of the Bible but relived the sufferings of Christ. His savage Passion was not only an atonement for his lapse of faith, an attempt to cleanse his soul of its adulterous liason with science but a demonstration of the barbarism of Islam and the superiority of Christianity. The treachery of Islam was also proven by Lawrence's rape at Deraa and the sacrifice of other 'knights' of Empire. Islamic treachery was a potent theme drawn from medieval Christian polemic but was here intermeshed with issues of race and class (the betrayal by racially impure servants). As I have suggested, these sacrifices and betrayals can be placed in a broader horizon of imperial martyrdom. Gordon stands as the supreme iconic figure of the sacrificed hero of Empire, but there were many others. If economics motivated imperial expansion it is certain that the sensibility of British imperialism was profoundly religious and that the proliferation of imperial martyrs fortified that sensibility.

Homosexuality/Masochism

Homosexuality and masochism were not pronounced themes in every instance of discourse but they do form a significant current within discourse. Doughty, Lawrence, Philby, and Thesiger all stressed the harsh aspects of desert life and encouraged the hardships of their own travels. Since this aspect stands in contrast to the romantic Arabia created in the writings of the Blunts, it is apparent then that discourse is capable of incorporating contradictory views. Homosexuality and masochism seem to be allied with the 'biblical' approach to Arabia and to the literary tradition of 'hard' primitivism (see below).

Primitivism

The travel discourse articulates with a literary tradition of primitivism which had been emphasized in

Classical thought (Lovejoy and Boas 1935) and which exerted a major influence on Romanticism. As in the work of Rousseau, primitivism functioned as a critique of European society. White (1978) discusses the notion of "wildness" as a form of self-definition, an assertion of meaning through opposition and difference, which is employed particularly at times of national and class conflict. Discussing the historical significance of this motif, White distinguishes between primitivism (which valorizes groups not yet subject to the discipline of 'civilization') and archaicism (which idealizes real or imagined ancestors in the remote past). Clearly, the Bedouin function as both terms within the discourse.

Lovejoy and Boas outline two forms of primitivism existing in Classical thought. "Soft" primitivism views the Other as a golden idyllic age; "hard" primitivism posits it as a realm of life stripped to its essentials and unburdened by luxury. Again, both forms exist within the travel discourse: Kinglake, Warburton, Lowth, Palgrave, the Blunts, and Stark viewed the East as an *Arabian Nights'* fantasy realm in which aristocratic power was preserved or could be exercised; Doughty, Lawrence, Philby, and Thesiger extoled the biblical, Spartan form of nomadic existence. Over-determining both views of Arabia as the past was the sense that because Arabia was a world of the past, it was therefore a legitimate sphere of British influence.

C. Inter-referentiality

After having briefly noted these thematic continuities, I now wish to make some remarks on the inter-referentiality of discourse as it exists at a different level.

Cross-references

Within the discourse there is an extensive system of references to other accounts of travel in Arabia. Kinglake not only inspired Warburton but each reviewed the other's work. Lawrence wrote introductions to the work of Doughty and Thomas. Palgrave, who dedicated his work to Niebuhr, was a continual point of discussion for later travellers who attempted to prove or disprove his work. Burton compared his observations in Mecca to those made by Burckhardt and added the accounts of previous travellers as appendices to his own text. Cobbold carried *Arabia Deserta* with her on the *haj*. Thesiger's interest in Arabia was inspired by Lawrence. Both Lawrence and Hazelton found a literary and moral model in Doughty. Raban (1979) prepared for his travels in Arabia by reading Doughty, Lawrence, Stark, and Thesiger.

Additionally there were also numerous personal contacts between travellers. Lawrence worked with Bell and Philby and was a frequent visitor to Blunt and Doughty. Thesiger and Philby were friends and Bell was romantically involved with Doughty's nephew. Rivalries also existed: Philby and Thomas had at one time jointly planned to turn Petra into a tourist attraction but Thomas' crossing of the Rub'al Khali soured the friendship; Bell and Sykes, neighbours in Britain, hated each other, as did Burton and Palgrave. This system of literary and personal contacts doubtless contributed to the consistency of discourse. In many cases, one travel account acted to substantiate or deny the legitimacy of another text.

Stylistic Similarities

It has been suggested that the Bible and the *Arabian Nights* imposed a textual grid over Arabia. One may discern two broad descriptive trends within the discourse according to which of these two 'primal texts' was most influential. For example, Kinglake, Warburton, Burton, Palgrave, the Blunts, Cobbold, Glubb, and Stark all conceive of Arabia in a romantic way and most refer explicitly to the *Arabian Nights*.

In contrast to the romantic view is the harsh, elemental biblical Arabia of Doughty, Forder, Lawrence, Philby, and Thesiger. Generally, it may be said that the romantic view predominated in earlier works and was replaced by the 'hard' primitivism of later texts.

There are certain broad shifts in the discourse which can be related to the imperial relations of Britain to the Middle East: romantic images which correspond to the early period of imperial confidence, followed by a more uncertain view at the end of the nineteenth century through World War I and incorporating the age of martyrs, and finally the age of nostalgia and complaints about the modernization of Arabia which accompanies the erosion of British power in the area. These are, however, merely generalizations since the discourse maintains some degree of autonomy and is not entirely dependent on economic and political factors or a simple reflection of such factors. Discourse does not advance in a straight line following the progression suggested by my scheme of organization: Confidence, Martyrdom, Nostalgia. Overall, this is its general trajectory but, as exemplified in the contrasting views of Doughty and the Blunts, different versions of Arabia could simultaneously be created. Similarly, Cheesman and Thomas show no doubt about Britain's role in the Middle East although they write in the post-war period; romantic images co-exist with complaints about modernization in the work of Cobbold and Stark. Also, the nostalgia which typifies the later moments of discourse has been constant throughout. Kinglake and Thesiger are alike in seeing the glory of the East in its past; similarly, Kinglake's contempt for the Levantine banker is comparable to Philby's complaints about the corruption of modern Arabia. A difference occurs in the fact that earlier travellers maintained that the grandeur of the Arabs still existed among the Bedouin while Thesiger notes that decay has crept into the heart of the desert itself.

Two stylistic tendencies also exist in the discourse. The first may be termed 'exotic' and is employed for both the romantic and descriptive forms. The deliberate archaicism of *Arabia Deserta* is perhaps the most self-conscious stylization, but *Seven Pillars* is also a deliberate exercise in style, with extreme care taken not only in vocabulary but also in typography and illustration. Romantic accounts also exhibit the emphasis on style, incorporating frequent allusions to poetry, medieval metaphors, and the same format of the quest.

Opposed the the 'exotic' is something I will call 'official' style. Reports writtten by military officers such as Sadleir and Pelley do not strive for aesthetic innovation. Medieval and biblical allusions occur in such texts and the same themes are exhibited but stylistic experimentation is not stressed. None of the texts which employ this form are considered classics of the genre and the travellers connected with them are not generally regarded as heroic figures of exploration.

D. External Contours

As suggested above, the discourse can be placed in a context of Britain's changing imperial relations with the Middle East. In this section I wish to comment mainly on aspects of the historical situation in Britain itself which conditioned the possibilities of discourse.

Class Tension

The discourse may be situated in a historical moment in which the growth of industrial capitalism was emerging against a state apparatus previously dominated by a decentralized country aristocracy. In 1830, the aristocracy combined control over the major economic resource (agriculture), control over the apparatuses of political administration, and the capacity to manipulate ideological structures, although the level of such control was localized. Industrialization and urbanization increased the power of the bourgeoisie at the expense of the land-owners who had dominated pre-industrial Britain. Sites of strategic management shifted from the local to the national level and the concentration of capital and labour in industrial towns threatened the power system of agrarian capitalism. To the extent that it did not ally itself with the rising bourgeoisie, the aristocracy found itself faced itself with an erosion of power and the replacement of a personal power network by a growing bureaucracy. The encroachment of the bourgeoisie on the economic and political sphere was followed in 1885 by their 'invasion' of the peerage.

This opposition between rural aristocracy and urban bourgeoisie is, of course, an oversimplification of the actual class tensions within British society at the time. Within the landed interests themselves there was a hierarchy of the great landowning aristocracy and the country gentry who were equal in status but not in possessions. Thompson

(1963) maintains that the fluidity of the upper classes has been greatly exaggerated. Failure of the the Peerage Bill in 1719 meant that theoretically an unlimited number of titles were available, but in reality the acquisition of sufficient independent means necessary for receipt of a hereditary title was less common. During the nineteenth century, a preoccupation with degrees of peerage was common among the upper classes (ibid.:12).

Thompson further argues that the landed gentry were far more numerous than the peerage; furthermore there were those who simply owned land and those who were obliged to pursue additional activities to support themselves. With the rise of the bourgeoisie, the old nobility and gentry attempted to maintain differentiation from those newly admitted to the ranks and there was a growing obsession with prestige and dignity. Many of the characteristics associated with the medieval revival became signs of nobility and style, as well as accent in speech, became a marker of class. Before the mid-century expansion of railways ended rural isolation, country gentry had typically viewed city aristocracy as decadent. Political interests among the upper classes were usually consistent, however, and real conflict was rare (ibid.:134-135).

The travel discourse, with its preoccupations with nobility banished to the wilderness, nostalgia for personalized feudal rule, espousal of a medieval ethos, and its continual suspicion of betrayal by those who indulge a venal avarice in order to profit from those of a higher station, embodies all the aspirations, tensions, contradictions, and insecurities of the threatened aristocracy. Set in the white zone of the desert, the discourse elaborates a series of transformations of the terms of British class relations. These may be proposed as a specific set of equivalencies: the search for purity of language, hospitality and chivalry, the opposition of rural aristocracy to urban decadence. Even the betrayal of the traveller by Arab guides had its counterpart in the suspicion of managers, agents, and servants which had come to be a perpetual obsession among the upper classes (ibid.:154).

Althusser (1971) suggests that ideology itself may be regarded as a site of class struggle. The travel discourse offered a justificatory model of social reality permeated with aristoratic ideology; such a justification has been recognized as a consistent requirement of the ruling classes (Newby et.al.:1978:278-279). Both the romantic-biblical overtones of the discourse and its implication of the universal validity of particular class formations suggested the model as doxa.

Arabia was perfectly suited to act as a mythic theatre. Because its deserts were, in economic terms, a blank space, it allowed the inscription of an ideological construction of both class and imperial relations. In this sense, the discourse is not only a code but a substrate of social practice. A supportive message of self-congratulation was offered to the aristocracy and through the hegemonic process, acting on appeals of racialism, patriotism, and nationalism, and acting in concert with the models provided by other discourses, practices, and institutions, it offered inspiration to other classes. Simultaneously it offered a heroic view of imperial adventurism which was not based on economic exploitation. The Bedouin, in a zone of economic unimportance, were valorized for their noble character while those Arabs who occupied territories of economic possibility (the coasts, towns, and oil-rich areas) were portrayed as inferior and in need of British domination. Thus, imperial duty was suggested at the same time as an aristocratic ideology and an image of traditional order was offered in response to the social dislocations of rising monopoly capitalism.

Sites Of Origin

Eothen, posed as one limit of discourse, has been regarded as a rupture in the genre of travel literature, the imposition of personal narrative on observation, the beginning of the travel account as introspection. Kinglake maintains that it is through his personality that we will see the East, yet Pritchett's recognition that Kinglake is "very English" in terms of class and historical moment allows us to be aware of Kinglake's personality while realizing that it was not entirely unique but in fact rather typical of the aristocracy of the period. Thus, it is not simply the case that *Eothen* offers a personal view; instead it offers a compendium of aristocratic attitudes: racial superiority, contempt for the lower classes, aversion to commercial involvement, imperial confidence.

The discourse of British travel in Arabia is notable in that its production may be located in a specific class position. The range of variation is extremely limited: many of the travellers were wealthy aristocrats who could afford to travel independently and indulge their Arabian fantasies (Kinglake, Lowth, the Blunts, Bell, Cobbold, Stark); there were also those whose finacial insecurities gave them a tenuous position on the fringe of that class but who nevertheless exhibited aristocratic sensibilities (Burton, Doughty, Lawrence). Many had military careers and associations or acted as colonial administrators (Sadleir, Pelley, Burton, Lawrence, Dickson, Leachman, Palmer, Haynes, Shakespear, Cheesman, Thesiger, Ingrams, Stark, Bell, Palgrave, Thomas, Philby). Both the military and the colonial service were careers reserved for the upper classes; a public school background was common to both. Additionally, most of the classic works were produced by those who had attended Oxford or Cambridge (Burckhardt, Kinglake, Burton, Doughty, Palmer, Lawrence, Philby, Thesiger, Bell, Palgrave).

This class consistency of the site of origin is manifested in the discourse. Not only is there a continuous reference to gentlemanly and chivalrous behaviour but there is a constant preoccupation with aristocratic concerns: the desert/town division reflecting country aristocracy and urban bourgeoisie, aversion to money matters, problems with servants, purity of language, horsemanship, hunting, personal authority, honour, hospitality, heredity and hierarchy.

Education

As noted above, there is a consistency in the educational background of the authors of discourse. The influence of the educational system as an ideological state apparatus, as defined by Althusser (1971), cannot be underestimated in terms of the production of discourse and the ideological construction of subjects.

Admission to public schools was restricted to the aristocracy and the wealthy bourgeoisie and the schools functioned as insitutions designed to produce a uniform ruling class trained to serve the interests of Empire.

Through a regimen of strict religious training, sports, and beatings the public schools produced an environment of "Spartan harshness" which stunted emotional life and fostered sexual deviation (Reed 1964; Jenkyns 1980:280-293). The intense competitive spirit of rising capitalism was incorporated into educational philosophy and justified with Homeric maxims. Glorification of the Spartan oppression of their slaves, the Helots, became a justification for the

British class system (ibid.:223). Reference to the Greeks also elevated a militaristic homosexual ethos which was promoted through imperialist ideology and exclusion of women from the public schools. Moral authoritarianism and the isolation of women led to a rigid classification which made heterosexuality "either the violation of a goddess or an escapade with a whore" (ibid.:284).

Homosexual desire, particularly if unconsummated, (chastity was emphasized as a major element of later nineteenth century medievalism and was promoted through school magazines), came to be regarded as an abstract love of pure beauty, a noble passion (ibid.:284).

One can clearly see such themes in the travel discourse. Along with the suppression of women, unrequited homosexuality exists as a secret whisper throughout, particularly in the texts of Burton, Lawrence, Thesiger, and Philby. Thus, even the most idiosyncratic of behaviours reflected in a text, Lawrence's homosexual masochism, for example, can be seen to have been in large degree determined by the institutional structures of ideology which interpellated him as subject. In order then to understand the operation of discourse we must attend to the structures and practices which determine it rather than concentrating on a biographical approach to authors.

Institutional Affiliations

The discourse can be seen to have issued from a particular structure of ideological intent. In terms of class affiliation, educational background, and career, there is a near-complete uniformity in the site of origin of discourse. The discourse also operated in a hierarchical system of information exchange, not only the relations between texts but the relation of texts to the military, colonial administration, and anthropological and geographical societies, institutions which to some extent influenced what was able to be said. For example, most travel accounts provide 'useful' information which could be of importance to the above-mentioned institutions. No traveller ever seriously challenged Britain's imperial policy and particularly in the case of military officers and colonial administrators, a firmer system of control was advocated. This is also seen in the texts of independent travellers, such as Stark, whose connections to the military and colonial administration seem to have been unofficial: she suggests more frequent bombing raids on the Arabs in order to bring them into submission to British authority. In the period in which Turkey's weakness posed a threat to British interests, travel accounts stress the decay of the East under Ottoman rule and advocate a stronger British role.

The insitutional affiliations of discourse are directly related to its function in the power/knowledge complex. A discourse which is allied with power comes to specify certain regularities of utterance. Power/knowledge is a selective process, intelligible in historical terms, which allows certain statements to be made while excluding others. Discourse is the intersection of power/knowledge and exists in an archive which is neither a totality of documents nor the insitutions in which they are produced but rather the relations between these and the system which allows their appearance.

Adjacent Practices

The system in which discourse appears is not limited to its site of origin or its institutional affiliations. Discourse is also supported by adjacent practices and discourses which mesh to increase the hegemonic power of each. I have previously noted the articluation of the travel discourse with medievalism and the Greek revival and its contribution to a pantheon of imperial martyrs. Here I will consider its articulation with boys' literature and with fiction.

Literature for Boys

The ideology of Empire was vigorously disseminated in boys' literature throughout the Victorian age and up to the First World War. Thousands of novels and millions of weekly magazines promoted the notion of imperialism. Prior to 1870, emphasis had been placed on travel and adventure, but with the change in Britain's imperial policy due to the monopolization of industrial capital which required a stable system of overseas investment for surplus capital, the idea of expansion and imperial duty became dominant. The 1870 Education Act greatly increased the number of periodicals aimed at youth and this soon became one of the largest sections of the British publishing industry (Dunae 1980).

Dunae notes that variations exist in these boys' journals, from the expansionist *Chums* (1892-1934) to the rabidly jingoistic *Boys Of Our Empire* (1900-1903). Despite these variations, the journals can be seen to operate as an aspect of power/knowledge. Dunae points out these journals had associations with institutions actively involved in imperialist practice. The editor of *Boys Of Our Empire* founded the Boys' Empire League to foster patriotism and Christian imperialism; those who joined had to choose a specific British colony which they would study, often obtaining information from the journals themselves. The *Boy's Own Paper* (1879-1967) was associated with the Religious Tract Society, the London Missionary Society, and the British and Foreign Bible Society, all of which promoted the idea of a divinely-ordained British Empire.

Many other organizations (similarly patriotic-military-religious in nature) existed which promoted racial pride, knowledge of the colonies, and imperial duty. These organizations cemented national unity and provided an institutional expression for bourgeois hegemony while providing leisure and even a certain limited amount of mobility for the working-class (Springhall 1977). Organizations such as the Boy Scouts exercised a paternalistic vision of class harmony and duty through the invocation of a pastoral myth of the purity of nature and manliness. Baden-Powell's *Young Knights of the Empire* (1916) lent a medieval aura to modern heroes of Empire such as Gordon and the famous explorers of Africa by associating them with heroes of chivalry such as King Arthur.

It is evident that both in intent and iconography, boys' literature and the travel discourse display similarities. Rather than seeing each as a disparate groups of texts which passively reflect social conditions, I suggest that both may be viewed as ideological forms with links to other such forms, not simply a system of ideas but a social practice which actively encourages the implementation of ideas. In terms of the travel discourse, it not only inspires other writers on Arabia and spawns a sub-text of critical discourse but generates an activity which is not purely literary. The travel accounts not only provide knowledge which potentially be put to the use of power but also advise directly on the practice of power: Lawrence's *Seven Pillars* functions as a military handbook; Ingrams not only attempts to recruit new agents for colonial administration, but advises on the application of his methods to other colonies. Avoidance of a uni-directional reflection theory allows us to see the discourse as permeated with ideology but not entirely reducible to it.

Articulation With Fiction

The travel discourse as literary quest, writing looking back on itself, a peculiar opsis of form and content, must be viewed in the context of the long fascination of English literature with Arabia. This association is evident not merely in the frequent use of Arabic themes or settings, as in the extremely popular eighteenth century genre of the Oriental tale; Arabia also influenced the very form of English literature, as in the use of a framing narrative in the *Canterbury Tales* (Gittes 1983).

It is clear that the use of Arabic themes in English literature has not been simply an aesthetic indulgence. In the Oriental romance, *Zohrab the Hostage* (1833), we may perceive themes which are persistent in the travel discourse, such as the opposition of the despot of the Arabian town or city to the desert aristocrat; Daniel (1966:59) suggests that this theme was directly connected to a political situation in which urban centers were under Turkish control. The opposition thus not only elaborates the theme of the noble savage but acts as an instrument of propaganda.

Brent (1977:22) suggests that the evolution of a literary Arabia began with the Romantics. Damiani (1979:1) has also noted the effect of Romanticism on travel literature of the Middle East. However, it is clear that a textual relation of Britain to Arabia has existed since the Middle Ages. Rather than describing the history of this relation, listing those many works of English literature which employ Arabian images or themes, I will suggest two texts, which are unconnected to Arabia but which seem to me to typify the nature of this textual relation, particularly as it achieves a sort of culmination in *Arabia Deserta* and *Seven Pillars*. The first of these is Richard de Bury's *Philobiblon* (1345), which defended the bibliophile's love of books and characterized his search for them as a religious pilgrimage. The other is *Don Quixote* (1605), with its protagonist existing in a world of books, inspired by textual chivalric romances to live out textual adventures until he finally comes to embody them; like Lawrence he becomes caught up in his own book and legend, a prisoner of discourse:

> His whole being is nothing but language, text, printed pages, stories that have already been written down. He is made up of written words; he is writing itself... (Foucault 1970:46)

Daniel claims that even in the Middle Ages the European view of Arabia was limited by its own discourse, that of the Bible and religiously-inspired polemical tracts which characterized Islam as the antithesis of Western civilization:

> Scripture was the framework of all medieval thought; for no Latin writer was it ever possible to think himself into a position outside and independent of Scripture. (Daniel 1958:253)

Daniel maintains that the internal consistency of this discourse was strong enough to survive the Catholic/Protestant rupture and that this same framework of thought remains largely intact to the present. However, Galland's translation of the *Arabian Nights* in 1704 is recognized as an event of supreme importance to the textual relation of Europe to the East and that it significantly altered the nature of the relationship, to the point where virtually no European traveller to the East has been free of its exotic influence (Daniel 1966:19-20). Thus, both the Bible and the *Arabian Nights* acted to throw an impenetrable screen of textuality over Arabia. As I have suggested above, when the British traveller went to Arabia it was not Arabia itself which was encountered, but discourse.

I have pointed out that the discourse frequently incorporates quotations from Classical and romantic poetry, as well as from contemporary writing. In conjunction with continual references to the Bible and the *Arabian Nights*, such usages act to lift the travel account out of the realm of empirical observation and transform it into a spiritual, romantic, and literary journey which has ideological significance.

Contemporary fiction also had other influences on the travel discourse. Not only did the authors of the travel discourse associate with the famous literary figures of their time, in the case of Lawrence the travel manuscript was actually altered in order to accomodate suggestions made by authors of fiction. Also, Shaw was writing *St. Joan* (1923) at the time he was revising *Seven Pillars*; Weintraub (1963:47-48,73) detects many similarities between the two works, particularly in terms of the character of their protagonists. Lawrence also appeared as a fictional character in Shaw's *Too Good To Be True* (1931) (ibid.:50) and the former's exploits with Aubrey Herbert in Mesopotamia were fictionalized in Buchan's *Greenmantle*.

Shaw's influence on *Seven Pillars* and the obvious accessibility of Lawrence for fictional aggrandisement and mythologizing, particularly when considered in the context of 'imperial fiction' (exemplified by Kipling, Haggard, Henty, and especially Conrad) which treats the same opposition of imperial enthusiasm/remorse, allows the suggestion that *Seven Pillars* elaborates not merely the psychomachy of an individual author, but that of nation and class. Lawrence thus becomes a moment of imperial consciousness as it manifests itself in discourse.

E. Discourse and Power/Knowledge

Rather than considering power as a quantity embedded in a state apparatus, I have employed Foucault's view of it as a series of relations which function alongside a state apparatus and operate at various levels. Thus my focus is not on global power exercised from a central point (the figure of the sovereign) but rather the multiple locales from which various types of subjugation function, power in its capillary points. In the case of Britain's relation with the Middle East, it has been demonstrated that there was not one central point of sovereign control but rather various levels of power, from the imperial agent to rival bureaucracies, such as the India Government, the Foreign Office, and the Arab Bureau. These bureaucracies also influenced the relations of power internal to Arabia, by subsidizing one group at the expense of another or encouraging tribal skirmishes. Policy was not exercised in a linear and concerted fashion but rather haphazardly and at times subject to personal ambition. However, it would be incorrect to assume that such ambitions were generally opposed to imperialist aims. Although some travellers made their journeys in clandestine fashion because of the fears of local administrators that their activities would disrupt the tribes of the interior, the majority travelled with official permission and assistance. My approach to the issue is similar to that taken by Foucault in his own studies, in the sense that I have proceeded from a study of the individual traveller and text, considering them as agents and mechanisms of power, to the manner in which they form a unified discourse and have been incorporated into a more global system, the production of instruments of observation and their function within a system of control.

In discussing the travel discourse in terms of power/knowledge we may distinguish between two modes: agents and discourse. Clearly, British travellers in Arabia functioned as agents of imperial power. Sadleir travelled across Arabia on a diplomatic mission to enlist Egyptian aid in anti-piracy raids along the Persian Gulf. Palgrave went to Riyadh to explore possibilities of French influence there and Pelley's journey was undertaken to determine Palgrave's success and to increase British prestige. Burton and Doughty provided geographic knowledge. Leachman, Lawrence, Shakespear, Philby, Glubb, Thomas, and Cheesman were all involved in military activities. Even Wilfrid Blunt, often hailed as anti-imperialist and whose journey to Nejd seemed purely a romantic one planned:

> ...a secret imperial mission...to extend British influence in Central Arabia. This would provide a counter-blast to Russian designs throughout the East and encouragement to the Arab peoples against their Ottoman masters. (Longford 1979:153)

Discourse itself acts as power/knowledge. Agents of power become the means for gathering knowledge. The accounts written by military officers seem the most apparent case, but even those works which incorporate most fully the urge to poeticization provide 'useful' information (military strength, economic resources, population figures, geographic description). The effectivity of power is not merely its negative repressive function but its ability to produce (discourse, knowledge).

Many works acted as propaganda, explicitly promoting the need for a British presence in Arabia and the Middle East. Kinglake sees the timeless Sphinx awaiting the inevitable ascension of British power in Egypt. Lowth predicts the improvements which will follow that ascension. Burton notes that Egypt has been corrupted through loosening of British control. Bent advises the seizure of Dhofar. Bell complains of Turkish misrule and calls for British intervention. Lawrence advises not only on the handling of individual Arabs but discusses procedures for manipulating the course of Arab nationalism to serve British interests and avert French influence. Ingrams (1966:6) rails against "the rabid infection of Arab nationalism" and defends British imperialism. No traveller seriously questioned or opposed British imperial activity in the Middle East.

The function of discourse as power/knowledge was not limited to Britain's imperial relations with the Middle East. Rather than limiting the analysis of power to a study of direct domination, the role of hegemony, the formation of an ideological world-view and the provision of moral and intellectual leadership must also be considered. As Mouffe (1979) has indicated, Foucault's concept of power may be traced back to Gramsci, who viewed the exercise of hegemony as a combination of force and consent. The discourse of British travel in Arabia may be viewed as one component of a hegemonic apparatus which sought to assert the values of the aristocracy. The articulation of the travel discourse with other social practices, such as medievalism and the Greek revival, enabled aristocratic values to be seen as universal in time and space. Moral and intellectual unity were thus reinforced and through a complex of institutions, organizations, and activities, dominance was legitimated at various levels.

The operation of discourse as an element of power can also be seen in specific themes within the travel accounts.

Travel As Introspection

As noted, the travel discourse draws upon a tradition of primitivism in literature in which wildness, savagery, and the primitive are employed as concepts which define or criticize European society. In either case, the precise nature of the primitive seems less important than the fact that it can be placed in opposition to that which is civilized. For many travellers the journey to Arabia became a means by which, through contact with the primitive, they were able to reawaken or realize some dormant aspect of the self. By virtue of Britain's power in the Middle East, Arabia served as a theatre for the traveller's fantasy. Realization of self became a standard element of the travel narrative and its persistence reinforced the notion of the primitive as theatre.

The travel narratives serve an ideological function not only through the presentation of idealized social relations but also through the presentation of ideal character, aristocratic in nature, with which the reader can identify. The traveller who made the journey to Arabia and into the self became a heroic figure, a moral exemplar and identification was achieved through the use of racial hierarchy and national identity.

Arabia As The Past

Discourse constructed Arabia as a land past its prime and continual references are made in the travel texts to the inefficiency and indolence of the Middle East. As I have noted, the ascription of these traits may be seen to correspond to British imperial policy; for example, when British policy changed from support for the Ottoman Empire to antagonism, Turkish inefficiency was seen to grow in relation to the nobility of the Arabs. Decaying, the Middle East requires the rejuvenation which the British can provide; dead, it merely justifies exploitation. The image of the East as a region in decline, in association with racialist theories and religious prejudices, acts to form a clear ideological justification for imperialism.

Additionally, by placing the journey to Arabia as one to the past, discourse was able to establish ideological truths about Britain. *Arabia Deserta* is again a clear example. Creating Arabia as a living museum of both the biblical and medieval past allowed the suggestion of a moral programme for Britain; Doughty's pilgrimage was intended not merely to resurrect a language in decline but also to awaken British patriotism from its stupor. Similarly the Blunts used Nejd as a model for traditional aristocratic power.

Medievalism

The medieval revival permeated the travel discourse as it did every other aspect of British society. Medievalism had a particular appeal for the aristocracy by villifying the urban bourgeoisie who posed a threat to aristocratic power. Medievalism, associated with the Tory party (itself largely composed of the landed interests), was anti-democratic and, through the provision of its moral code, offered an extremely powerful metaphor for a specific order of class relations (Girouard 1981). Chandler (1970:6) also notes the strong appeal of medievalism for the aristocracy because of its anti-democratic stance, "glorification of noblesse oblige [and] neo-feudal paternalism". Chandler discerns two major aspects of medievalism: an identification with nature, the past, and a nobler way of life and "its feudalism - its harmonious and stable social structure which reconciled freedom and order by giving each man an allotted place in society and an allotted leader to follow" (ibid.:195).

As noted above, the equation of Bedouin shaykh and medieval knight often was explicitly stated or suggested by vocabulary and imagery. By projecting the terms of the medieval revival upon Arabia, medievalism itself was further romanticized. Articulated with other discourses, medievalism supplied the travel discourse with a set of transformative elements. For example, medievalism was also linked with the Greek revival, which had its own relationship with the travel discourse. Richard Hurd's *Letter On Chivalry and Romance* (1911) asserted that Homer would have preferred to live in the Middle ages because of that period's great gallantry and solemnity; Thomas Warton's *The History of English Poetry* (1870) also equates medieval manners with Homer (ibid.:17). In a figure such as Lawrence, aspects of medievalism and the Greek revival are merged. By portraying Arabia as a medieval realm another connection with Britain was formed and the projection of the terms of medievalism upon Arabia served to universalize the medieval ethos and the power relations it acted to maintain.

Town/Desert Divisions

This theme not only reflects class contradictions in Britain but also the interests of British imperialism in the Middle East. The *fellahin* of Egypt and the inhabitants of the oil-rich areas of Mesopotamia and the profitable coasts of the Persian Gulf were created as racially impure, corrupt, and avaricious in relation to the 'true' Arabs of the desert. Additionally, the urban areas under Turkish control could be seen to be vastly inferior to those areas of the interior where Turkish administration was less effective. The decay of the Middle East resulting from Turkish misrule, the manifest inability of the Arabs to govern themselves and the manner in which travel texts make the Arabs appear to wish for British domination all function to legitimize the need for a stronger British presence in the area. At the same time, the desert, less immediately important to British interests, could conveniently serve as a model of traditional aristocratic order. The continued effectiveness of such order was demonstrated by the fact that direct British interference was not necessary. Contact with these areas could be portrayed as innocent or even altruistic, a courtesy call paid to desert nobility by travelling aristocrats. Thus, imperialist interests and aristocratic privilege could be defended simultaneously. Although discourse created the deserts as pure zones of aristocratic rule, this creation proved useful to imperial strategy. The universal condemnation of the modernization of Central Arabia and the call for a strong British presence in the other above-mentioned areas clearly supports official British policy of economic underdevelopment of the hinterland.

The equation of Bedouin shaykh and British country squire not only gave universal validation to a specific social order in Britain; this 'special relation' justified the British presence in the Middle East in contrast to the 'corrupting' influence of the French, Russians, and Turks.

Racialism

By suggesting the superiority of desert nomads to town Arabs and of Arabs to Persians, Indians, and Blacks, the discourse established a racial hierarchy. Classical philosophy and anthropology added legitimacy to this system. Street (1975) has discussed the articulation of racialist notions and anthropological theory of the imperial period. Several travellers identified themselves as anthropologists, were connected with anthropological societies or conducted research which may be termed anthropological. Institutional affiliations no doubt lent greater validity to racialist claims made in the discourse; many of these claims reinforced the concept of an exhausted Middle East in need of British leadership. It is reasonable to assume that the relationship of the discourse to anthropology was reciprocal and that the latter was influenced by the findings of travellers.

Racialist notions are linked with the town/desert division and reveal the interplay of ideologies of race and class; those Arabs who occupied a higher position in the racial hierarchy were those who seemed most like the British aristocracy. Just as the Bedouin were created as a 'natural' aristocracy, a 'natural' slave class was constructed. Valorization of a group inhabiting an economic wasteland helped to justify the exploitation of areas of greater economic possibility because the inhabitants of these areas were seen by comparison to be inferior.

Martyrdom

The sacrifice of valiant Christian knights to treacherous Muslims had a propaganda function which legitimated British imperial power in the Middle East. Drawing upon medieval polemic and existing in a wider horizon of imperialist martyrdom, these sacrificial victims indicated the essential altruism of Empire through the opposition of its civilizing mission to the fanaticism of false religions and inferior races.

The lone British traveller in Arabia is the distillation of imperial power to its minutest point. The activity of the traveller demonstrated this power, both to the Arabs and to British readers. Kinglake says his crossing of the desert with a small party made him seem "superhuman" to the Arabs; Burton's account thrilled British readers with the ability of the British agent to penetrate the secret places of Muslims. The implication of a greater power was always present, however: Wellsted rescued himself in Damascus by referring to the immediate military retribution which would follow any harm done to him. In the case of Palmer and Leachman, faith in the efficacity of British prestige was misplaced and led to their deaths, but even these sacrifices could serve the ends of power by justifying retribution and a stronger British presence. Triumphant or betrayed, the lone British traveller functioned as a potent sign which was the embodiment of power.

The Creation Of Arabia

Foucault has stressed that power is not merely negative, that it produces. Through the exercise of power new objects of knowledge are created. Discourse creates Arabia as an ordered space; everything which exists there is charted, measured, and described by discourse. From the enormous intellectual undertaking of Burton, in which he sought to subsume the whole of Arabia to his own intellect, digest it entirely, and explain it fully, to the anthropometrical activities of Thomas, everything in Arabia becomes a subject of knowledge as well as subject to power.

The rejection of the subjectivity of individual authors as an object of study leads to the analysis of discursive events structured by material relations existing between institutions. Just as the individual subject is considered to be constituted by history and structural relations, knowledge is considered to be determined by regularities which are selective and exclusionary and which can be interpreted by the investigation of concrete historical conditions. The document is merely the visible trace of specific relations, regularities and structures. Thus the object of knowledge is viewed as an effect of the system of rules and the co-ordination of statements which describe it.

Once collected, Arabia can be ordered or, rather, discourse itself dictates the manner of collection and ordering. Thus it is not a historical referent which discourse describes but rather the manner of its own ordering, which is inseparable from power. Although ordering is textual and discursive, the effects of ordering are not confined to that realm but are manifested in practice.

The End Of Discourse

Thesiger explicitly states that the modernization of Arabia has ended the heroic age of travel there. If a certain style of travel has ended in Arabia it is clear that the discourse extends itself beyond this point.

Just as *Eothen*, at the initial limit of discourse, does not concern itself with the great deserts of Arabia, Raban's *Arabia: A Journey Through The Labyrinth* (1979), at the opposite limit, skirts the wastes sought by the classic travellers. Raban's text is not concerned with the nomads, whom Thesiger had left as an impoverished proletariat, but with the modern world of oil-rich Arabia. Rather than being a complete rupture with the books which proceeded it, the text is merely a new elaboration of the old theme of Arab avarice. Here, Arab wealth, the reversal of power, degrades both the Arabs and the British, a degradation embodied in the initial image of the text: a British prostitute accosting a bewildered Arab in Earl's Court. Raban's intention is to investigate the present condition of the "old romantic love affair [of] British Arabism" (Raban 1979:19) and his preparation included the reading of Lawrence, Doughty, Thesiger, and Stark. Thus, the retitled paperback edition of Raban's work, *Arabia: A Journey Through The Looking-Glass* (1980), is exactly to the point: it is discourse as much as it is Arabia which is the subject of reflection, the explorers will be explored.

As well, themes and images from the discourse of Arabian travel are maintained in other travel works. Theroux (1980) explicitly compares his conversation with Borges in Buenos Aires to that of Kinglake's with Stanhope. Greene (1971) makes his journey to Liberia a method of psycho-analysis and an exploration of racial childhood; chivalry, racism, and repressed homosexuality are themes in his text. Trench (1980) similarly presents his travels through the Sahara as a journey to the past and into his own psyche; he also quotes Lawrence's introduction to *Arabia Deserta* and applies Lawrence's comments on the Arab Revolt to Polisario groups he encounters.

The discourse also continues to exist as an element of power/knowledge, although it may be employed in different interests. Hazelton (1980) discusses Doughty in her own book of travel in the Sinai and Negev deserts. Her book also creates the journey as one to the past, both a personal past and that of the British Empire. Doughty, portrayed as a saintly figure ("...a wise and gentle and very patient man...he had no point to make, just the desert to travel in...reasons of empire played no part in his wanderlust" (Hazelton 1980:18-20)), is employed as a role model in a search for the ghost of the British Empire. Imperial nostalgia leads directly to espousal of the Zionist cause, which is portrayed not as an extension of empire, but as part of "a deep historical sense of homecoming" (ibid.:148). Hazelton skillfully adapts a British ideological use of the Bedouin to Zionism. Doughty, now "the kind of Englishman that made an empire" (ibid.:22), becomes the role model not only for Hazelton, but for Zionism. Clearly this is an ideologically interested reading of Doughty; his hatred of the Arabs verged on the fanatical and Tidrick 1981:148-149,155-156) describes him as the most blatant and unquestioning of imperialists, a 'saintly' figure whose poetry was full of aggressive, bloodthirsty images. As a role model for Zionism, Doughty seems redundant, but Hazelton's use of the Bedouin as mirror-image for heroic Zionist traits is a clear example of the manner in which an ideology can extend beyond the historical conditions which spawned it, to be inhabited later by another form of power as a hermit crab occupies a shell.

F. Conclusions

Rather than examining texts purely as units of internal significations, I have considered discourse as a system of symbolic resolutions of social contradictions, these contradictions exisiting as a sort of absence in that they are not always directly confronted by the texts. The texts have been considered as ideologemes: "the smallest intelligible unit[s] of the essentially antagonistic collective discourses of social classes" (Jameson 1981: 76-82). New narrative details have been considered as a means of 'working' the contradictions. Thus Tidrick (1981) seems fundamentally mistaken in her dismissal of Said's thesis (1978) of an Orientalist discourse because it lacks a single stereotype. I have considered texts as conceptual spaces for the elaboration of an ideology attempting to incorporate a series of narrative paradigms which conflict in various degree. Rather than dismissing the concept of discourse because it cannot be distilled into a single meaning, I have suggested that one must consider text and context as a process of the integration of plural meanings, series of elaborations on basic social/conceptual contradictions: class conflict, imperial dilemma, the attempted reconciliation of a moral and religious society to the business of imperialism, nobility/avarice.

I have demonstrated that the limits imposed by economic, political, and social conditions, the influence of traditional knowledge, an institutional network, and the determinations of genre and the interaction with adjacent discourses have all contributed to the formation of a discourse which is inescapably synonymous with power. The fact that an ideology which supported the relations of power which had existed among the country-house aristocracy of pre-industrial Britain could continue to exert its influence in the face of changing external conditions support the rejection of Habermas' claim that traditions will only continue as a force of legitimation when they are operative in an interpretive system which gives them continuity (Newby et.al:1978). I have suggested that ideology, embedded in a discourse such as this, seems capable of something verging on independent life. Discourse must be understood in the interplay of discursive formations and adjacent practices. It is not merely the auxotonic dynamic of discourse which gives it strength but its situation in a historical conjunction of other forces.

In at least one major sense I have departed from Foucault's treatment of discourse. That is the degree to which I have allowed the discourse of British travel in Arabia to stand for something else, perceived its mythic and allegorical function. I have done so, however, not to concentrate on the interpretation of individual texts but in order to determine their function in a discourse of power/knowledge. Furthermore, I believe that this allegorical aspect is central to the discourse of British travel in Arabia and I have thus posed the discourse as an allocryptic narrative in an age of the masque, an attempted resolution of contradiction within a vast ideological gesture of concealment.

An investigation of the historical referent of discourse has not been the aim of this study. Therefore, I have not attempted to prove or disprove the accuracy of statements made in the discourse. My investigation has been concerned with the relation of objects to a set of rules which enable them to be formed as objects of a discourse which constitutes the conditions of their historical appearance. This type of investigation should be particularly valuable to anthropology, which is premised upon the knowing of other cultures and which is currently involved in controversy over its own forms of representation, as exemplified in Derek Freeman's *Margaret Mead and Samoa* (1983), an attempted refutation of Mead's research in Samoa during the 1920s. Heavily influenced by sociobiology, Freeman presents a conflict model of Samoa which is completely unlike Mead's version of Samoan society. What is apparent in Freeman's rejection of Mead's work is not merely a re-interpretation of data but a struggle between paradigms, with the resulting implication that ethnography does not simply represent a given culture but rather reifies its own theoretical orientation. Further research might involve an attempt to study anthropology's own discourse and to determine to what degree representation is determined by the discourse in which it occurs.

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